John Adams.

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THE

WORKS

OF

Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT,

DEAN of ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

VOLUME IV.

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An humble ADDRESS to both Houſes of PARLIAMENT*.

By M. B. DRAPIER.

Multa gemens ignominiam plagaſque ſuperbi
Victoris.

I Have been told, that petitions and addreſſes, to either king or parliament, are the right of every ſubject; provided they conſiſt with that reſpect which is due to princes and great aſſemblies. Neither do I remember, that the modeſt propoſals or opinions of private men have been ill received, when they have not been delivered in the ſtile of *advice*; which is a preſumption far from my thoughts. However, if propoſals ſhould be looked upon as too aſſuming; yet I hope, every man may be ſuffered to declare his own and the nation's wiſhes. For inſtance; I may be allowed to wiſh, that ſome further laws were enacted for the advancement of

* This addreſs is without a date, but it appears to have been written during the firſt ſeſſion of parliament in Lord Carteret's government, though it did not appear till it was inſerted with the preceding letter in the Dublin edition of 1735.

Among other inaccuracies in the Iriſh edition, two dates are aſſigned to the following tract; in the advertiſement prefixed it is ſaid to have been written the firſt ſeſſion of Carteret's government, and in the title page to be written before his arrival.

trade, for the improvement of agriculture, now ſtrangely neglected againſt the maxims of all wiſe nations; for ſupplying the manifeſt defects in the acts concerning the plantation of trees; for ſetting the poor to work; and many others.

Upon this principle I may venture to affirm, it is the hearty wiſh of the whole nation, very few excepted, that the parliament in this ſeſſion would begin by ſtrictly examining into the deteſtable fraud of one William Wood, now or late of London, hardwareman; who illegally and clandeſtinely, as appears by your own votes and addreſſes, procured a patent in England for coining halfpence in that kingdom to be current here. This I ſay is the wiſh of the whole nation, *very few excepted*; and upon account of thoſe few, is more ſtrongly and juſtly the wiſh of the reſt: thoſe few conſiſting either of Wood's confederates, ſome obſcure tradeſmen, or certain bold UNDERTAKERS of weak judgement and ſtrong ambition, who think to find their account in the ruin of the nation by ſecuring or advancing themſelves. And becauſe ſuch men proceed upon a ſyſtem of politics, to which I would fain hope you will be always utter ſtrangers, I ſhall humbly lay it before you.

Be pleaſed to ſuppoſe me in a ſtation of fifteen hundred pounds a year, ſalary and perquiſites; and likewiſe poſſeſſed of 800 l. a-year real eſtate. Then ſuppoſe a deſtructive project to be on foot; ſuch, for inſtance, as this of Wood; which, if it ſucceed, in all the conſequences naturally to be expected from it, muſt ſink the rents and wealth of the kingdom one half, (although, I am confident, it would have done ſo five ſixths). Suppoſe, I conceive that the countenancing, or privately ſupporting this project, will pleaſe thoſe by whom I expect to be preferred, or higher exalted: nothing then remains, but to compute and balance my gain and my loſs, and ſum up the whole. I ſuppoſe that I

ſhall

ſhall keep my employment ten years, not to mention a fair chance of a better. This at 1500 l. a-year amounts in ten years to 15,000 l. My eſtate by the ſucceſs of the ſaid project ſinks 400 l. a-year; which, at twenty years purchaſe, is but 8000 l.: ſo that I am a clear gainer of 7000 l. upon the balance. And during all that period I am poſſeſſed of power and credit, can gratify my favourites, and take vengeance on my enemies. And if the project miſcarry, my private merit is ſtill entire. This arithmetic, as horrible as it appears, I knowingly affirm to have been practiſed, and applied in conjunctures, whereon depended the ruin or ſafety of a nation: although probably the charity and virtue of a ſenate will hardly be induced to believe, that there can be ſuch monſters among mankind. And yet the wiſe Lord Bacon mentions a ſort of people (I doubt the race is not yet extinct) who would ſet a houſe on fire for the convenience of roaſting their own eggs at the flame.

But whoever is old enough to remember and hath turned his thoughts to obſerve the courſe of public affairs in this kingdom from the time of the revolution, muſt acknowledge, that the higheſt points of intereſt and liberty have been often ſacrificed to the avarice and ambition of particular perſons upon the very principles and arithmetic that I have ſuppoſed: the only wonder is, how theſe artiſts were able to prevail upon numbers, and influence even public aſſemblies to become inſtruments for effecting their execrable deſigns.

It is, I think, in all conſcience latitude enough for vice, if a man in ſtation be allowed to act injuſtice upon the uſual principles of getting a bribe, wreaking his malice, ſerving his party, or conſulting his preferments, while his wickedneſs terminates in the ruin only of particular perſons. But to deliver up our whole country, and every living ſoul who inhabits it, to certain deſtruction, hath

not, as I remember, been permitted by the moſt favourable caſuiſts on the ſide of corruption. It were far better, that all who have had the misfortune to be born in this kingdom, ſhould be rendered incapable of holding any employment whatſoever above the degree of a conſtable, (according to the ſcheme and intention of a great miniſter gone to his own place *), than to live under the daily apprehenſion of a few falſe brethren among ourſelves. Becauſe, in the former caſe, we ſhould be wholly free from the danger of being betrayed, ſince none could then have impudence enough to pretend any public good.

It is true, that in this deſperate affair of the new halfpence I have not heard of any man above my own degree of a ſhopkeeper to have been hitherto ſo bold, as in direct terms to vindicate the fatal project; although I have been told of ſome very mollifying expreſſions which were uſed, and very gentle expedients propoſed and handed about, when it firſt came under debate; but ſince the eyes of the people have been ſo far opened, that the moſt ignorant can plainly ſee their own ruin in the ſucceſs of Wood's attempt, theſe grand compounders have been more cautious.

But that the ſame ſpirit ſtill ſubſiſts, hath manifeſtly appeared (among other inſtances of great compliance) from certain circumſtances, that have attended ſome late proceedings in a court of judicature *. There is not any common-place more frequently inſiſted on by thoſe who treat of our conſtitution, than the greateſt happineſs and excellency of trials by juries; yet if this bleſſed part of our law be eludible at pleaſure by the force of

* The late Earl of Sunderland.

* By Chief Juſtice Whitſhed, whoſe method with a jury may be ſeen in the note which follows the "Propoſal for the uſe of Iriſh "manufactures," and that at the end of "Seaſonable advice to a "grand jury."

power

power, frowns, and artifice, we shall have little reason to boast of our advantage in this particular over other states or kingdoms in Europe. And surely these high proceedings, exercised in a point that so nearly concerned the life-blood of the people, their necessary subsistence, their very food and raiment, and even the public peace, will not allow any favourable appearance; because it was obvious, that so much superabundant zeal could have no other design, or produce any other effect, than to damp that spirit raised in the nation against this accursed scheme of William Wood and his abettors; to which spirit alone we owe, and for ever must owe, our being hitherto preserved, and our hopes of being preserved for the future, if it can be kept up, and strongly countenanced by your wise assemblies. I wish I could account for such a demeanor upon a more charitable foundation, than that of putting our interest in overbalance with the ruin of our country.

I remember some months ago, when this affair was fresh in discourse, a person nearly allied to SOMEBODY, or (as the hawkers called him) NOBODY, who was thought deeply concerned, went about very diligently among his acquaintance, to shew the bad consequences that might follow from any public resentment to the disadvantage of his ally, Mr. Wood; principally alledging the danger of all employments being disposed of from England. One of these emissaries came to me and urged the same topic: I answered naturally, that I knew there was no office of any kind, which a man from England might not have, if he thought it worth his asking; and that I looked upon all who had the disadvantage of being born here, as only in the condition of leasers and gleaners. Neither could I forbear mentioning the known fable of the countryman, who intreated his ass to fly for fear of being taken by the enemy; but the ass refused to

give himſelf that trouble, and upon a very wiſe reaſon; becauſe he could not poſſibly change his preſent maſter for a worſe: the enemy could not make him *fare harder, beat him more cruelly*, or load him with heavier burthens.

Upon theſe and many other conſiderations I may affirm it to be the wiſh of the whole nation, that the power and privileges of juries were declared, aſcertained, and confirmed by the legiſlature; and that whoever hath been manifeſtly known to violate them, might be ſtigmatized by public cenſure; not from any hope that ſuch a cenſure will amend their practices, or hurt their intereſt, (for it may probably operate quite contrary in both), but that the nation may know their enemies from their friends.

I ſay not this with any regard or view to myſelf; for I write in great ſecurity; and am reſolved that none ſhall merit at my expenſe, further than by ſhewing their zeal to diſcover, proſecute, and condemn me for endeavouring to do my duty in ſerving my country: and yet I am conſcious to myſelf, that I never had the leaſt intention to reflect on his Majeſty's miniſters, nor on any other perſon, except William Wood, whom I neither did, nor do yet conceive to be of that number. However, ſome would have it, that I went too far; but I ſuppoſe they will now allow themſelves miſtaken. I am ſure I might eaſily have gone further, and I think I could not eaſily have fared worſe. And therefore I was no further affected with their proclamation, and ſubſequent proceedings, than a good clergyman is with the ſins of the people. And as to the poor printer, he is now gone to appear before a higher, and before a righteous tribunal.

As my intention is only to lay before your great aſſemblies the general wiſhes of the nation; and as I have already declared it our principal wiſh, that your firſt proceeding would be to examine into the pernicious

pernicious fraud of William Wood; ſo I muſt add as the univerſal opinion, that all ſchemes of commutation, compoſition, and the like expedients, either avowed or implied, will be of the moſt pernicious conſequences to the public; againſt the dignity of a free kingdom; and prove an encouragement to future adventurers in the ſame deſtructive projects. For it is a maxim, which no man at preſent diſputes, that even a conivance to admit one thouſand pounds in theſe halfpence will produce in time the ſame ruinous effects, as if we openly conſented to admit a million. It were therefore infinitely more ſafe and eligible to leave things in the doubtful, melancholy ſtate they are at preſent, (which however God forbid), and truſt entirely to the general averſion of our people againſt this coin, uſing all honeſt endeavours to preſerve, continue, and increaſe that averſion, than ſubmit to apply thoſe palliatives, which weak, perfidious, or abject politicians are, upon all occaſions, and in all diſeaſes, ſo ready to adminiſter.

In the ſmall compaſs of my reading (which however hath been more extenſive than is uſual to men of my inferior calling), I have obſerved, that grievances have always preceded ſupplies; and if ever grievances had a title to ſuch a pre-eminence, it muſt be this of Wood; becauſe it is not only the greateſt grievance that any country could ſuffer, but a grievance of ſuch a kind, that, if it ſhould take effect, would make it impoſſible for us to give any ſupplies at all, except in adulterate copper; unleſs a tax were laid for paying the civil and military liſts, and the large penſions, with real commodities inſtead of money; which, however, might be liable to ſome few objections as well as difficulties; for altho' the common ſoldiers might be content with beef, and mutton, and wool, and malt, and leather; yet I am in ſome doubt as to the generals, the colonels, the numerous penſioners, the civil officers, and

and others, who all live in England upon Irish pay, as well as those few who reside among us only because they cannot help it.

There is one particular, which although I have mentioned more than once in some of my former papers, yet I cannot forbear to repeat, and a little enlarge upon it; because I do not remember to have read or heard of the like in the history of any age or country; neither do I ever reflect upon it without the utmost astonishment.

After the unanimous addresses to his Sacred Majesty against this patent of Wood from both houses of parliament, which are the three estates of the kingdom; and likewise an address from the privy council, to whom, under the chief governors, the whole administration is intrusted; the matter is referred to a committee of council in London. Wood and his adherents are heard on one side; and a few volunteers without any trust or direction from hence, on the other. The question (as I remember) chiefly turned upon the want of half-pence in Ireland: witnesses are called on the behalf of Wood (of what credit, I have formerly shewn *): upon the issue the patent is found good and legal; all his Majesty's officers here (not excepting the military) commanded to be aiding and assisting to make it effectual; the addresses of both houses of parliament, of the privy council, and of the city of Dublin, the declarations of most counties and corporations through the kingdom, are altogether laid aside as of no weight, consequence, or consideration whatsoever, and the whole kingdom of Ireland nonsuited in default of appearance; as if it were a private cause between John Dow, plaintiff, and William Row, defendant.

With great respect to those honurable persons, the committee of council in London, I have not

* In letter 3.

under-

underſtood them to be our governors, counſellors, or judges. Neither did our caſe turn at all upon the queſtion, Whether Ireland wanted halfpence? For there is no doubt, but we do want both halfpence, gold and ſilver; and we have numberleſs other wants, and ſome that we are not ſo much as allowed to name, although they are peculiar to this nation, to which no other is ſubject, whom God hath bleſſed with religion and laws, or any degree of ſoil and ſunſhine; but for what demerits on our ſide, I am altogether in the dark.

But I do not remember, that our want of halfpence was either affirmed or denied in any of our addreſſes or declarations againſt thoſe of Wood. We alledged the fraudulent obtaining and executing his patent, the baſeneſs of his metal, and the prodigious ſum to be coined, which might be increaſed by ſtealth, from foreign importation, and his own counterfeits, as well as thoſe at home; whereby we muſt infallibly loſe all our little gold and ſilver, and all our poor remainder of a very limited and diſcouraged trade. We urged, that the patent was paſſed without the leaſt reference hither; and without mention of any ſecurity given by Wood to receive his own halfpence upon demand; both which are contrary to all former proceedings in the like caſes. Theſe, and many other arguments we offered; but ſtill the patent went on; and at this day our ruin would have been half completed, if God in his mercy had not raiſed an univerſal deteſtation of theſe half-pence in the whole kingdom, with a firm reſolution never to receive them, ſince we are not under obligations to do ſo by any law either human or divine.

But, in the name of God and of all juſtice and piety, when the King's Majeſty was pleaſed that this patent ſhould paſs, is it not to be underſtood, that he conceived, believed, intended it as a gracious act, for the good and benefit of his ſubjects,

jects, for the advantage of a great and fruitful kingdom, of the moſt loyal ſubjects upon earth, where no hand or voice was ever lifted up againſt him; a kingdom, where the paſſage is not of three hours from Britain, and a kingdom where Papiſts have leſs power, and leſs land than in England? Can it be denied, or doubted, that his Majeſty's miniſters underſtood and propoſed the ſame end, *the good of this nation*, when they adviſed the paſſing this patent? Can the perſon of Wood be otherwiſe regarded, than as the inſtrument, the mechanic, the head-workman, to prepare his furnace, his fewel, his metal, and his ſtamps? If I employ a ſhoeboy, is it in view to his advantage, or to my own convenience? I mention the perſon of William Wood alone; becauſe no other appears, and we are not to reaſon upon ſurmiſes; neither would it avail, if they had a real foundation.

Allowing therefore, (for we cannot do leſs), that this patent for the coining of halfpence was wholly intended by a gracious King, and a wiſe public-ſpirited miniſtry, for the advantage of Ireland; yet when the whole kingdom to a man, for whoſe good the patent was deſigned, do upon matureſt conſideration univerſally join in openly declaring, proteſting, addreſſing, petitioning againſt theſe halfpence, as the moſt ruinous project that ever was ſet on foot to complete the ſlavery and deſtruction of a poor innocent country: *is it*, *was it*, *can it*, or *will it* ever be a queſtion, not whether ſuch a kingdom, or William Wood, ſhould be a gainer; but, whether ſuch a kingdom ſhould be wholly undone, deſtroyed, ſunk, depopulated, made a ſcene of miſery and deſolation, for the ſake of William Wood? God of his infinite mercy avert this dreadful judgment; and it is our univerſal wiſh, that God would put it into your hearts to be his inſtruments for ſo good a work.

For

For my own part, who am but one man, of obſcure condition, I do ſolemnly declare, in the preſence of Almighty God, that I will ſuffer the moſt ignominious and torturing death, rather than ſubmit to receive this accurſed coin, or any other that ſhall be liable to the ſame objections, until they ſhall be forced upon me by a law of my own country; and if that ſhall ever happen, I will tranſport myſelf into ſome foreign land, and eat the bread of poverty among a free people.

Am I legally puniſhable for theſe expreſſions; ſhall another proclamation iſſue againſt me becauſe I preſume to take my country's part againſt William Wood, where her final deſtruction is intended? But whenever you ſhall pleaſe to impoſe ſilence upon me, I will ſubmit; becauſe I look upon your unanimous voice to be the voice of the nation; and this I have been taught, and do believe, to be in ſome manner the voice of God.

The great ignominy of a whole kingdom lying ſo long at mercy under ſo vile an adverſary, is ſuch a deplorable aggravation, that the utmoſt expreſſions of ſhame and rage are too low to ſet it forth: and therefore I ſhall leave it to receive ſuch a reſentment as is worthy of a parliament.

It is likewiſe our univerſal wiſh, that his Majeſty ſhould grant liberty to coin halfpence in this kingdom for our own uſe, under ſuch reſtriction as a parliament here ſhall adviſe: ſince the power of coining even gold and ſilver is poſſeſſed by every petty prince abroad; and was always practiſed by Scotland to the very time of the union; yet ſurely Scotland, as to ſoil, climate, and extent, is not in itſelf a fourth part the value of Ireland; (for Biſhop Burnet ſays, it is not above the fortieth part in value to the reſt of Britain); and with reſpect to the profit that England gains from hence, not the forty thouſandth part. Although I muſt confeſs, that a mote in the eye, or a thorn in the ſide,

is more dangerous and painful than a beam or a ſpike at a diſtance.

The hiſtories of England, and of moſt other countries, abound in relating the miſerable, and ſometimes the moſt tragical effects from the abuſes of coin by debaſing the metal, by leſſening or enhancing the value upon occaſions, to the public loſs; of which we have an example within our own memory in England, and another very lately in France. It is the tendereſt point of government, affecting every individual in the higheſt degree. When the value of money is arbitrary or unſettled, no man can well be ſaid to have any property at all; nor is any wound ſo ſuddenly felt, ſo hardly cured, or that leaves ſuch deep and laſting ſcars behind it.

I conceive this poor unhappy iſland to have a title to ſome indulgence from England; not only upon the ſcore of Chriſtianity, natural equity, and the general rights of mankind, but chiefly on account of that immenſe profit they receive from us; without which that kingdom would make a very different figure in Europe, from what it doth at preſent.

The rents of land in Ireland, ſince they have been of late ſo enormouſly raiſed and ſcrewed up, may be computed to about two millions; whereof one third part at leaſt is directly tranſmitted to thoſe who are perpetual abſentees in England; as I find by a computation made with the aſſiſtance of ſeveral ſkilful gentlemen.

The other articles, by which we are altogether loſers and England a gainer, we found to amount to almoſt as much more.

I will only ſet down as many heads of them as I can remember, and leave them to the conſideration of thoſe who underſtand accounts better than I pretend to do.

The

The occaſionol abſentees, for buſineſs, health, or diverſion.

Three fourths of the revenue of the chief governor, during his abſence; which is uſually four fifths of his government.

The whole revenue of the poſt-office.

The numerous penſions paid to perſons in England.

The pay of the chief officers of the army abſent in England, which is a great ſum.

Four commiſſioners of the revenue, always abſent.

Civil employments very numerous, and of great income.

The vaſt charge of appeals to the houſe of Lords, and to the court of delegates.

Students at the inns of court, and the two univerſities.

Eighty thouſand pounds ſent yearly to England for coals, whereof the prime coſt is nothing, and therefore the profit wholly theirs.

One hundred thouſand pounds paid ſeveral years paſt for corn ſent over hither from England; the effect of our own great wiſdom in diſcouraging agriculture.

The kind liberty granted us of wearing Indian ſtuffs, and callicoes, to gratify the vanity and folly of our women; which, beſides the profit to England *, is an inconceivable loſs to us, forcing the weavers to beg in our ſtreets, or tranſport themſelves to foreign countries.

The prodigious loſs to us, and gain to England, by ſelling them all our wool at their own rates; whereof the manufacture exceeds above ten times

* From whence theſe commodities were exported to Ireland, the Eaſt-India company only having a right to import them from the country in which they are manufactured.

the prime coſt: "A proceeding without example "in the Chriſtian or Heathen world."

Our own wool returned upon us in Engliſh manufactures to our infinite ſhame and damage, and the great advantage of England.

The full profit of all our mines accruing to England; an effect of great negligence and ſtupidity.

An affectation among us of liking all kind of goods made in England *.

Theſe, and many other articles, which I cannot recollect at preſent, are agreed by judicious men to amount to near ſeven hundred thouſand pounds *per annum* clear profit to England. And, upon the whole, let any man look into thoſe authors who write upon the ſubject of commerce, he ſhall find, that there is not one ſingle article in the eſſentials or circumſtances of trade, whereby a country can be a loſer, which we do not poſſeſs in the higheſt perfection; ſomewhat in every particular, that bears a kind of analogy to William Wood; and now the branches are all cut off, he ſtands ready with his axe at the root.

Upon this ſubject of perpetual abſentees I have ſpent ſome time in very inſignificant reflections; and conſidering the uſual motives of human actions, which are pleaſure, profit, and ambition, I cannot yet comprehend how thoſe perſons find their account in any of the three. I ſpeak not of thoſe Engliſh peers or gentlemen, who, beſide their eſtates at home, have poſſeſſions here, for in that caſe the matter is deſperate; but I mean thoſe lords and wealthy knights, or ſquires, whoſe birth, and partly their education, and all their fortune, (except ſome trifle, and that in a very few inſtances), are in this kingdom. I knew many of them well enough during ſeveral years, when I reſided in

* Many of the above articles have been ſince particularly computed by another writer, to whoſe treatiſe the reader is referred.

England;

England; and truly I could not discover, that the figure they made was by any means a subject for envy, at least it gave me two very different passions. For, excepting the advantage of going now and then to an opera, or sometimes appearing behind a croud at court, or adding to the ring of coaches in Hide-Park, or losing their money at the chocolate-house, or getting news, votes, and minutes, about five days before us in Dublin; I say, besides these and a few other privileges of less importance, their temptations to live in London were beyond my knowledge or conception. And I used to wonder, how a man of birth and spirit could endure to be wholly insignificant and obscure in a foreign country, when he might live with lustre in his own; and even at less than half that expense, which he strains himself to make without obtaining any one end, except that which happened to the frog, when he would needs contend for size with the ox. I have been told by scholars, that Cæsar said he would rather be the first man in I know not what village, than the second in Rome. This perhaps was a thought only fit for Cæsar: but to be preceded by thousands and neglected by millions; to be wholly without power, figure, influence, honour, credit, or distinction, is not, in my poor opinion, a very amiable situation of life to a person of title or wealth, who can so cheaply and easily, shine in his native country.

But, besides the depopulating of the kingdom, the leaving so many parts of it wild and uncultivated, the ruin of so many country-seats and plantations, the cutting down all the woods to supply expenses in England; the absence of so many noble and wealthy persons hath been the cause of another fatal consequence, which few perhaps have been aware of. For if that very considerable number of lords who possess the amplest fortunes here, had been content to live at home, and attend the affairs

of their own country in parliament; the weight, reputation, and dignity thereby added to that noble houſe would, in all human probability, have prevented certain proceedings, which are now ever to to be lamented, becauſe they never can be remedied: and we might then have decided our own properties among ourſelves, without being forced to travel five hundred miles by ſea and land to another kingdom for juſtice, to our infinite expenſe, vexation, and trouble; which is a mark of ſervitude without example from the practice of any age or nation in the world.

I have ſometimes wondered, upon what motives the peerage of England were ſo deſirous to determine our controverſies; becauſe I have been aſſured, and partly know, that the frequent appeals from hence have been very irkſome to that illuſtrious body: and whoever hath frequented the painted chamber and courts of requeſts muſt have obſerved, that they are never ſo nobly filled, as when an Iriſh appeal is under debate.

The peers of Scotland, who are very numerous, were content to reſide in their caſtles and houſes in that bleak and barren climate; and although ſome of them made frequent journeys to London, yet I do not remember any of their greateſt families, till very lately, to have made England their conſtant habitation before the union: or if they did, I am ſure it was generally to their own advantage; and whatever they got, was employed to cultivate and increaſe their own eſtates; and by that means enrich themſelves and their country.

As to the great number of rich abſentees under the degree of peers; what particular ill effects their abſence may have upon this kingdom, beſides thoſe already mentioned, may perhaps be too tender a point for me to touch. But whether thoſe who live in another kingdom upon great eſtates here, and have loſt all regard to their own country, fur-

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ther than upon account of the revenues they receive from it; I say, whether such persons may not be prevailed on to recommend others to vacant seats, who have no interest here except a precarious employment, and consequently can have no views, but to preserve what they have got, or to be higher advanced; this, I am sure, is a very melancholy question, if it be a question at all.

But, besides the prodigious profits which England receives by the transmittal thither of two thirds of the revenues of the whole kingdom, it hath another mighty advantage by making our country a receptacle, wherein to disburden themselves of their supernumerary pretenders to offices; persons of second-rate merit in their own country, who, like birds of passage, most of them thrive and fatten here, and fly off when their credit and employments are at an end. So that Ireland may justly say what Luther said of himself; "POOR Ireland "maketh many rich."

If amidst all our difficulties I should venture to assert, that we have one great advantage, provided we could improve it as we ought, I believe most of my readers would be long in conjecturing, what possible advantage could ever fall to our share. However, it is certain, that all the regular seeds of party and faction among us are entirely rooted out, and if any new ones shall spring up, they must be of equivocal generation, without any seed at all; and will justly be imputed to a degree of stupidity beyond even what we have been ever charged with upon the score of our birth-place and climate.

The parties in this kingdom (including those of modern date) are, first, of those who have been charged or suspected to favour the pretender; and those who were zealous opposers of him. Secondly, of those who were for and against a toleration of Dissenters by law. Thirdly, of high and low

church; or, (to ſpeak in the cant of the times) of Whig and Tory. And fourthly, of court and country. If there be any more, they are beyond my obſervation or politics: for as to ſubaltern or occaſional parties, they have all been derivations from the ſame originals.

Now, it is manifeſt, that all theſe incitements to faction, party, and diviſion are wholly removed from among us. For as to the pretender, his cauſe is both deſperate and obſolete: there are very few now alive, who were men in his father's time, and in that prince's intereſt; and in all others the obligation of conſcience hath no place *: even the Papiſts in general of any ſubſtance or eſtates, and their prieſts almoſt univerſally, are what we call Whigs in the ſenſe which by that word is generally underſtood. They feel the ſmart, and ſee the ſcars of their former wounds; and very well know, that they muſt be made a ſacrifice to the leaſt attempts towards a change; although it cannot be doubted, that they would be glad to have their ſuperſtition reſtored under any prince whatſoever.

Secondly, the Diſſenters are now tolerated by law: neither do we obſerve any murmurs at preſent from that quarter, except thoſe reaſonable complaints they make of perſecution, becauſe they are excluded from civil employments; but their number being very ſmall in either houſe of parliament, they are not yet in a ſituation to erect a party: becauſe however indifferent men may be with regard to religion, they are now grown wiſe enough to know, that if ſuch a latitude were allowed to Diſſenters, the few ſmall employments left us in cities and corporations would find other hands to lay hold on them.

Thirdly, the diſpute between high and low church is now at an end; two thirds of the biſhops having

* The obligation ariſing from their having ſworn allegiance.

been

been promoted in this reign, and moſt of them from England, who have beſtowed all preferments in their gift to thoſe they could well confide in: the deaneries all, except three, and many principal church-livings, are in the donation of the crown: ſo that we already poſſeſs ſuch a body of clergy, as will never engage in controverſy upon that antiquated and exploded ſubject.

Laſtly, as to court and country parties, ſo famous and avowed under moſt reigns in Engliſh parliaments; this kingdom hath not for ſeveral years paſt been a proper ſcene whereon to exerciſe ſuch contentions; and is now leſs proper than ever; many great employments for life being in diſtant hands, and the reverſions diligently watched and ſecured; the temporary ones of any inviting value are all beſtowed elſewhere as faſt as they drop, and the few remaining are of too low conſideration to create conteſts about them, except among younger brothers, or tradeſmen like myſelf. And therefore, to inſtitute a court and country party without materials, would be a very new ſyſtem in politics, and what I believe was never thought on before; nor unleſs in a nation of idiots can ever ſucceed, for the moſt ignorant Iriſh cottager will not ſell his cow for a groat.

Therefore I conclude, that all party and faction with regard to public proceedings are now extinguiſhed in this kingdom *; neither doth it appear in view how they can poſſibly revive: unleſs ſome new cauſes be adminiſtered, which cannot be done without croſſing the intereſts of thoſe who are the greateſt gainers by continuing the ſame meaſures. And general calamities, without hope of redreſs, are allowed to be the greateſt uniters of mankind.

* Since this diſcourſe was written, it hath appeared by experience, that the author was much miſtaken in his conjectures.

How-

However we muſt diſlike the cauſes, yet this effect of begetting an univerſal concord among us in all national debates, as well as in cities, corporations, and country-neighbourhoods, may keep us at leaſt alive, and in a condition to eat the little bread allowed us in peace and amity. I have heard of a quarrel in a tavern, where all were at daggers-drawing, till one of the company cried out, deſiring to know the *ſubject of the quarrel*; which when none of them could tell, they put up their ſwords, ſat down, and paſſed the reſt of the evening in quiet. The former part hath been our caſe, I hope the latter will be ſo too; that we ſhall ſit down amicably together, at leaſt until we have ſomething that may give us a title to fall out, ſince nature hath inſtructed even a brood of goſlings to ſtick together, while the kite is hovering over their heads.

It is certain, that a firm union in any country, where every man wiſhes the ſame thing with relation to the public, may in ſeveral points of the greateſt importance in ſome meaſure ſupply the defect of power, and even of thoſe rights which are the natural and undoubted inheritance of mankind. If the univerſal wiſh of the nation upon any point were declared by the unanimous vote of the houſe of Commons and a reaſonable number of Lords, I ſhould think myſelf obliged in conſcience to act in my ſphere according to that vote; becauſe in all free nations I take the proper definition of law to be, *The will of the majority of thoſe who have the property in land*; which, if there be a monarchy, is to be confirmed by the royal aſſent. And although ſuch votes or declarations have not received ſuch a confirmation for certain accidental reaſons; yet I think they ought to be of much weight with the ſubject, provided they neither oppoſe the King's prerogative, endanger the peace of the nation, nor infringe any law already in force: none of which however can reaſonably be ſuppoſed. Thus, for inſtance,

if

if nine in ten of the houſe of Commons, and a reaſonable number of native temporal Peers, ſhould declare, that whoever received or uttered *braſs coin*, except under certain limitations and ſecurities, ſhould be deemed as enemies to the King and the nation; I ſhould think it a heinous ſin in myſelf to act contrary to ſuch a vote: and if the ſame power ſhould declare the ſame cenſure againſt thoſe who wore Indian ſtuffs and callicoes, or woollen manufactures imported from abroad, whereby this nation is reduced to the loweſt ebb of miſery, I ſhould readily, heartily, and chearfully pay obedience; and to my utmoſt power perſuade others to do the like; becauſe there is no law of this land obliging us either to receive ſuch coin, or to wear ſuch foreign manufactures.

* Upon this laſt article I could humbly wiſh, that the Reverend the clergy would ſet us an example by contenting themſelves with wearing gowns and other habiliments of Iriſh drapery; which, as it would be ſome incitement to the laity, and ſet many hands to works, ſo they would find their advantage in the cheapneſs, which is a circumſtance not to be neglected by too many among that venerable body. † And in order to this I could heartily deſire, that the moſt ingenious artiſts of the weaving trade would contrive ſome decent ſtuffs and ſilks for clergymen at reaſonable rates.

I have preſſed ſeveral of our moſt ſubſtantial brethren, that the whole corporations of weavers in ſilk and woollen would publiſh ſome propoſals, (I wiſh they would do it to both houſes of parliament), inviting perſons of all degrees, and of both ſexes, to

* This hath ſince been put in practice by the perſuaſions and influence of the ſuppoſed author; but much defeated by the moſt infamous fraud of ſhopkeepers.

† This ſcheme was likewiſe often urged to the weavers by the ſuppoſed author; but he could never prevail on them to put it in practice.

wear

wear the woollen and silk manufactures of our own country; entering into solemn, mutual engagements, that the buyer shall have good, substantial, merchantable ware for his money, and at a certain rate, without the trouble of cheapening. So that if I sent a child for a piece of stuff of a particular colour and fineness, I should be sure not to be deceived; or if I had reason to complain, the corporation should give me immediate satisfaction; and the name of the tradesman, who did me the wrong, should be published; and warning given not to deal with him for the future; unless the matter plainly appeared to be a mistake: for, beside the trouble of going from shop to shop, an ignorant customer runs the hazard of being cheated in the price and goodness of what he buys, being forced to an unequal combat with a dexterous and dishonest man in his own calling. Thus our goods fall under a general disrepuation; and the gentry call for English cloth, or silk, from an opinion they have, (and often too justly by their own faults), that the goodness more than makes up for the difference of price.

Besides, it hath been the sottish and ruinous practice of us tradesmen, upon any great demand of goods either at home or from abroad, to raise the prices immediately, and manufacture the said goods more slightly and fraudulently than before.

Of these foul and foolish procceedings too many instances might be produced; and I cannot forbear mentioning one whereby this poor kingdom hath received such a fatal blow in the only article of trade allowed us of any importance, that nothing but the success of Wood's project could undo it. During the late plague in France, the Spaniards, who buy their linen-cloths in that kingdom, not daring to venture thither for fear of infection, a very great demand was made here for that commonity, and exported to Spain; but, whether by the ignorance of the merchants, or dishonesty of the

northern

northern weavers, or the colluſion of both, the ware was ſo bad, and the price ſo exceſſive, that except ſome ſmall quantity which was ſold below the prime coſt, the greateſt part was returned: and I have been told by very intelligent perſons, that if we had been fair dealers, the whole current of the linen-trade to Spain would have taken its courſe from hence.

If any puniſhment were to be inflicted on numbers of men, ſurely there could none be thought too great for ſuch a race of traitors, and enemies to God and their country; who, for the proſpect of a little preſent gain, do not only ruin themſelves, (for that alone would be an example to the reſt, and a bleſſing to the nation), but ſell their ſouls to hell, and their country to deſtruction. And if the plague could have been confined only to thoſe who were partakers in the guilt, had it travelled hither from Marſeilles, thoſe wretches would have died with leſs title to pity, than a highwayman going to the gallows.

But it happens very unluckily, that for ſome time paſt all endeavours or propoſals from private perſons to advance the public ſervice, however honeſtly and innocently deſigned, have been called FLYING IN THE KING'S FACE; and this, to my knowledge, hath been the ſtile of ſome perſons, whoſe anceſtors (I mean thoſe among them who had any) and themſelves have been flying in princes faces theſe fourſcore years; and from their own inclinations would do ſo ſtill, if their intereſt did not lead them rather to *fly in the face* of a kingdom, which hath given them wings to enable them for ſuch a flight.

Thus, about four years ago, when a * diſcourſe was publiſhed, endeavouring to perſuade our people to wear their own wollen manufactures, full of the

* The proposal for the univerſal uſe of Iriſh manufactures.

moſt

moſt dutiful expreſſions to the King, and without the leaſt party-hint, it was termed *flying in the King's face*; the printer was proſecuted in the manner we all remember, and I hope it will ſomewhere be remembered further, the jury kept eleven hours, and ſent back nine times, till they were under the neceſſity of leaving the priſoner to the mercy of the court, by a ſpecial verdict; the † judge on the bench invoking God for his witneſs, when he aſſerted, that the author's deſign was to bring in the Pretender.

And thus alſo, my own poor endeavours to prevent the ruin of my country by the admiſſion of Wood's coin were called by the ſame perſons, *flying in the King's face*: which I directly deny: for I cannot allow that vile repreſentation of the royal countenance in William Wood's adulterate copper to his ſacred Majeſty's face; or if it were, my flying was not againſt the impreſſion, but the baſeneſs of the metal; becauſe I well remembered, that the image which Nebuchadnezzar commanded to be ſet up for all men to fall down and worſhip it, was not of *copper* but pure *gold*. And I am heartily ſorry, we have ſo few royal images of that metal among us; the ſight whereof, although it could hardly increaſe our veneration for his Majeſty, which is already ſo great, yet would very much enliven it with the mixture of comfort and ſatisfaction.

Alexander the Great would ſuffer no ſtatuary, except Phidias, to carve his image in ſtone or metal. How muſt he have treated ſuch an operator as Wood, who goes about with ſackfulls of droſs, odiouſly miſrepreſenting his prince's countenance; and would force them by thouſands upon every one of us at above ſix times the value?

But, notwithſtanding all that hath been objected by William Wood himſelf, together with his fa-

† Judge Whitſhed.

vourers

vourers, abettors, ſupporters, either public or private; by thoſe who connive at this project, or diſcourage and diſcountenance his oppoſers for fear of leſſening their favour, or hazarding their employments; by thoſe who endeavour to damp the ſpirit of the people raiſed againſt this coin, or check the honeſt zeal of ſuch as by their writings or diſcourſes do all they can to keep it up; by thoſe ſofteners, ſweeteners, compounders, and expedient-mongers, who ſhake their heads ſo ſtrongly that we can hear their pockets gingle; I did never imagine, that in detecting the practices of ſuch enemies to the kingdom I was *flying in the King's face*; or thought they were better repreſenters of his Majeſty, than that very coin for which they are ſecret or open advocates.

If I were allowed to recite only thoſe wiſhes of the nation, which may be in our power to attain; I think they might be ſummed up in theſe few following

Firſt, That an end might be put to our apprehenſions of Wood's halfpence, and to any danger of the like deſtructive ſcheme for the future.

Secondly, That halfpence might be coined in this kingdom by a public mint with due limitations.

Thirdly, That the ſenſe of both houſes of parliament, at leaſt of the houſe of Commons, were declared by ſome unanimous and hearty votes againſt wearing any ſilk or woollen manufactures imported from abroad; as likewiſe againſt wearing Indian ſilks or callicoes, which are forbidden under the higheſt penalties in England: and it behoves us to take example from ſo wiſe a nation: becauſe we are under a greater neceſſity to do ſo, ſince we are not allowed to export any woollen manufactures of our own; which is the principal branch of foreign trade in England.

Fourthly, That ſome effectual methods may be taken to civilize the poorer ſort of natives in all thoſe parts of this kingdom, where the Iriſh abound, by introducing among them our language and cuſtoms; for want of which they live in the utmoſt ignorance, barbarity, and poverty, giving themſelves wholly up to idleneſs, naſtineſs, and thievery, to the very great and juſt reproach of too many landlords. And if I had in me the leaſt ſpirit of a projector, I would engage, that this might be effected in a few years at a very conſiderable charge.

Fifthly, That due encouragement ſhould be given to agriculture; and a ſtop put to that pernicious practice of graziers ingroſſing vaſt quantities of land, ſometimes at great diſtance; whereby the country is extremely depopulated.

Sixthly, That the defects in thoſe acts for planting foreſt-trees might be fully ſupplied, ſince they have hitherto been wholly effectual; except about the demeſnes of a few gentlemen; and even there in general very unſkilfully made, and thriving accordingly. Neither hath there yet been due care taken to preſerve what is planted, or to incloſe grounds; not one hedge in a hundred coming to maturity for want of ſkill and induſtry. The neglect of copſing woods cut down hath likewiſe been of very evil conſequences. And if men were reſtrained from that unlimited liberty of cutting down their own woods before the proper time, as they are in ſome other countries, it would be a mighty benefit to the kingdom. For, I believe, there is not another example in Europe of ſuch a prodigious quantity of excellent timber cut down in ſo ſhort a time, with ſo little advantage to the country either in ſhipping or building.

I may add that abſurd practice of cutting turf without any regularity; whereby great quantities of reſtorable land are made utterly deſperate, many thouſands of cattle deſtroyed, the turf more difficult

cult to come at and carry home, and leſs fit for burning; the air made unwholeſome by ſtagnating pools and marſhes; and the very ſight of ſuch places offenſive to thoſe who ride by. Neither ſhould that odious cuſtom be allowed of cutting ſcraws (as they call them), which is flaying of the green ſurface of the ground to cover their cabins, or make up their ditches; ſometimes in ſhallow ſoils, where all is gravel within a few inches; and ſometimes in low ground, with a thin green ſward, and ſloughy underneath; which laſt turns all into a bog by this miſmanagement. And I have heard from very ſkilful countrymen, that by theſe two practices in turf and ſcraws the kingdom loſeth ſome hundreds of acres of profitable land every year; beſides the irreparable loſs of many ſkirts of bogs, which have a green coat of graſs, and yet are mangled for turf; and beſides the want of canals by regular cutting, which would not only be a great convenience for bringing their turf home at an eaſy rate, but likewiſe render even the larger bogs more dry and ſafe for ſummer-paſture.

Theſe, and ſome other ſpeculations of the like kind, I had intended to publiſh in a particular diſcourſe againſt this ſeſſion of parliament; becauſe in ſome periods of my life, I had opportunity and curioſity to obſerve, from what cauſes thoſe great errors in every branch of country-management have ariſen; of which I have now ventured to relate but few out of very many; whereof ſome perhaps would not be mentioned without giving offence, which I have endeavoured by all poſſible means to avoid. And for the ſame reaſon I choſe to add here the little I thought proper to ſay on this ſubject.

But, as to the lands of thoſe who are perpetual abſentees, I do not ſee any probability of their being ever improved. In former times their tenants ſat at eaſy rents; but for ſome years paſt they have

been, generally ſpeaking, more terribly racked by the dexterity of mercileſs agents from England, than even thoſe who held under the ſevereſt landlords here. I was aſſured upon the place by great numbers of credible people, that a prodigious eſtate in the county of Cork being let upon leaſes for lives, and great fines paid, the rent was ſo high, that the tenants begged leave to ſurrender their leaſes, and were content to loſe their fines.

The cultivating and improvement of land is certainly a ſubject worthy of the higheſt inquiry in any country, but eſpecially in ours; where we are ſo ſtrangely limited in every branch of trade that can be of advantage to us, and utterly deprived of thoſe which are of the greateſt importance; whereof I defy the moſt learned man in Europe to produce me an example from any other kingdom in the world: for we are denied the benefit which God and nature intended to us; as manifeſtly appears by our happy ſituation for commerce, and the great number of our excellent ports. So that, I think, little is left us beſides the cultivating our own ſoil, encouraging agriculture, and making great plantations of trees, that we might not be under the neceſſity of ſending for corn and bark from England, and timber from other countries. This would increaſe the number of our inhabitants, and help to conſume our natural products as well as manufactures at home. And I ſhall never forget what I once ventured to ſay to a great man in England, that few politicians, with all their ſchemes, are half ſo uſeful members of a commonwealth, as an honeſt farmer; who, by ſkilfully draining, fencing, manuring, and planting, hath increaſed the intrinſic value of a piece of land; and thereby done a perpetual ſervice to his country; which it is a great controverſy whether any of the former ever did, ſince the creation of the world; but no controverſy

troversy at all, that ninety-nine in a hundred have done abundance of mischief.

Although, in the foregoing letters, Dr Swift talks of liberty in a strain highly becoming a warm and zealous defender of the rights of his country, which he maintains with great force of law, reason, justice, and eloquence; he never once deviates, in the whole course of his arguments, from the distinguishing characteristics of the most loyal subject; whatever might to the contrary have been supposed by a few degenerate slaves and sycophants in these days; even by that sort of people, who, as the wise Lord Bacon expresses it, would set a house on fire for the convenience of roasting their own eggs at the flame.

However indeed such was the iniquity of the times, that a reward of 300 l. was offered for the author of the 4th letter, chiefly because he had maintained therein the liberty of his country, and declared in very high terms worthy of a brave and resolute mind, that he would continue firm and faithful to his Sovereign Lord the King, whatever turn, in the vicissitudes of this world, his Majesty's affairs might possibly take in other parts of his dominions. ------ I shall only remark upon this doctrine, the contrary of which would, I think, have been high treason, and against his oath of allegiance, that how much soever it was condemned in the 1724 by slaves and flatterers; it was in 1745 so universally established in the minds of men, that if there had been occasion for the people of Ireland to have drawn the sword in defence of their sovereign, (which, beside their loyalty and affection to his Majesty, they have many reasons to thank God for that there was not), K. George II. would undoubtedly have been supported in his right to the imperial kingdom of Ireland, let his Majesty's affairs in other parts of his dominions have taken what turn they might, by 300,000 as brave militia as any to be found throughout all Europe; even by the grand children of those men so renowned for their valorous atchievements in the days of K. William III. ------ As the author of the 4th letter could not be discovered, Harding the printer was indicted in the usual forms, and brought to the King's bench, to be tried before that William Whitshed above mentioned. But the noble jury, friends to their country and to the public interest, would not find the bill. Whereupon the Chief Justice in a rage dissolved the jury: on account of which he deserved to have been impeached by the house of commons; because the dissolving of a grand jury, &c. See above, p. 85. l. 6. *Swift.*

The DRAPIER demolished, and ſet out in his own proper colours; being a full CONFUTATION of all his ARGUMENTS againſt Mr. WOOD's HALFPENCE.

By WILLIAM WOOD, Eſq;

Written in the year 1724.

Ye good people of Ireland,

I Make not the leaſt doubt, when ye have impartially weighed and conſidered what I ſhall offer upon the preſent occaſion in my own defence, and againſt your Drapier: when ye ſhall make an exact aſſay of the arguments on both ſides between him and me; and, laſtly, when ye ſhall obſerve, as I ſhall point it out, the abuſive and reproachful language with which he has treated me; I ſay, as I ſaid before, I make not the leaſt doubt, but ye will all to a man reject him, and embrace me with open arms.

In his firſt letter to the tradeſmen, ſhopkeepers, farmers, and common people in general of the kingdom of Ireland, [above, p. 218.*] he begins with the wheedling preamble of Brethren, friends, countrymen, and fellow-ſubjects. A loving beginning indeed! But I wonder which of us two loves you beſt; he that is getting you no money at all, or I who am this preſent providing more money for you than you ſhall know what to do with. O ſad!

* The pages referred to in this paper are in Vol. 3d.

O ſad! I am really concerned for the poor Drapier. Soon after he proceeds, and ſays.

" It is a great fault among you, that when a per-
" ſon writes with no other intention than to do you
" good, you will not be at the pains to read his ad-
" vices." [p. 220.]

Artful enough indeed! This he did to draw you in like ſo many gudgeons, to ſwallow his falſe arguments; and you ſee he has accompliſhed his end at laſt; for had ye not read his letters, ye might have had the benefit of my halfpence theſe five or ſix months paſt.

" Now, you muſt know, that the halfence and
" farthings in England paſs for very little more
" than they are worth; and if you ſhould beat
" them to pieces, and ſell them to the braſier, you
" would not loſe much above a penny in a ſhilling.
" But Mr. Wood made his halfpence of ſuch baſe
" metal, and ſo much ſmaller than the Engliſh
" ones, that the braſier would hardly give you a-
" bove a penny of good money for a ſhilling of
" his." [p. 221.]

Ay, would he give three pence. But one may ſee his malice here with half an eye. He does not tell of the vaſt expence and trouble I am at in coining; the number of clerks I keep in pay; how much I was out of pocket in getting my patent; the great expenſe I ſhall be at in ſhipping them to Ireland; which muſt, in the nature of things, be a vaſt drawback to the profit which I ought to have for my trouble; and therefore it cannot be ſuppoſed I can either put as much or as good copper in the halfpence for Ireland, as thoſe for England. But, good Lord! is not a halfpenny a halfpenny when once it is called ſo; and, if it paſſes for a halfpenny, can you expect any more? Good people, never mind one word he ſays, though he ſells you a dozen hats at five ſhillings a-piece, which is three pound, is but five ſhillings in my money; this is perfect tranſubſtantiation to juggle you

out

out of your ſenſes——three pound is but five ſhillings! Well, if this be his computation, I have done.

" This ſame Mr. Wood was able to attend con-
" ſtantly for his own intereſt;" [and why ſhould not I?]; " he is an Engliſhman, and had great
" friends," [God be thanked for that]; " and it
" ſeems knew very well where to give money to
" thoſe that would ſpeak to others, that could
" ſpeak to the King, and would tell a fair ſtory." [I grant that, and what would he infer?] Then he proceeds: "If his Majeſty the King ſaw that it
" would utterly ruin the kingdom of Ireland, he
" would ſhew his diſpleaſure to ſomebody or other.
" But a word to the wiſe is enough." [We know his meaning by his mumping; he had as well ſpoken what he thought, like an honeſt man. He proceeds]: " Moſt of you muſt have heard with
" what anger our honourable houſe of Commons
" received an account of this Wood's patent.
" There were ſeveral fine ſpeeches made upon it,
" and plain proofs, that it was all a wicked cheat,
" from the bottom to the top; and ſeveral ſmart
" votes were printed, which that ſame Wood had
" the aſſurance to anſwer likewiſe in print, and in
" ſo confident a way, as if he were a better man
" than our whole parliament put together." [p. 221. 222.];

The parliament was angry ---- made ſpeeches ---- found me to be a wicked cheat---and I anſwered as if I had been a better man than the whole parliament --- --- Well, I find this Drapier will ſay any thing; but I am very glad all the kingdom of Ireland knows to the contrary. Let the Drapier anſwer me only theſe three queſtions: Where did this parliament ſit? And where are the ſpeeches? And where is my anſwer?

" The common ſoldier, when he goes to the
" market or alehouſe, will offer this money,"
[meaning

[meaning my halfpence] ; " and if it be refuſed, per-
" haps he will ſwagger, and hector, and threaten
" to beat the butcher or alewife," [threaten in-
deed ! he will do it in earneſt], " or take the goods
" by force, and throw them the bad halfpence."
[Why ſhould he not ? Is it any robbery if he pays
them !] " in this and the like caſes, the ſhopkeep-
" er, or victualler, or any other tradeſman, has no
" more to do, than to demand ten times the price
" of his goods, if it is to be paid in Wood's mo-
" money ; for example, *twenty pence for a quart*
" *of ale*." [p. 223.] The devil is in his conſcience,
twenty pence for a quart of ale! I believe ſuch ano-
ther propoſal was never ſince Adam. To conſider
all other things in proportion, what miſchief would
this occaſion ? That is, fifteen ſhillings a-bottle for
claret, at eighteen pence a-bottle ; for a flaſk of
Burgundy five and forty ſhillings ; fifty ſhillings a-
day for a coach ; ten ſhillings a dinner for a twelve-
penny ordinary ; thirty ſhillings a-day for a chair ;
ten pence a freſh egg ; five pence a halpenny roll ;
two pence halfpenny for a pint of ſmall beer. In
ſhort, by his advice, victuallers, vintners, and
tradeſfolk would ſoon get all the money of the
kingdom into their own hands, ſhould they all fol-
low the pot-of-ale example. And now to conſider
the poor, they would be undone by the Drapier's
advice ; the butcher would have eighteen pence for
a ſheep's head ; the baker ten ſhillings for a twelve-
penny loaf ; and thus would it be in proportion as
to all their other exigencies. No, no, rather take
my advice ; *two pence a quart, and my bleſſing*.

In p. 223. he denies that my halfpence are lawful
money of England or Ireland. I ſuppoſe then he
would have them lawful money of Scotland or
Wales ; for they muſt be lawful ſomewhere. For
does he think, under the ſcarcity of money we find
at preſent, that we can afford to let fourſcore and
ten

ten thouſand pound lie dead? I need no other argument to ſhew what a friend he is to the public.

" They ſay, 'Squire Conolly hath ſixteen thou-
" ſand pounds a-year: now, if he ſends for his
" rent to town, as it is likely he doth, he muſt
" have two hundred and fifty horſes to bring up
" his half years rent." [p. 224.]

Suppoſe he muſt, where is the great hardſhip? If a man of ſixteen thouſand a-year cannot afford two hundred and fifty horſes to draw his money, he deſerves to want it. I'll engage his under-tenants will lay it down at his door, and it ſhall not coſt him a farthing for the carriage.

" Theſe halfpence, if they once paſs, will ſoon
" be counterfeited, becauſe it may be cheaply done,
" the ſtuff is ſo baſe. The Dutch likewiſe will
" probably do the ſame thing, and ſend them over
" to us to pay for our goods." [p. 224.]

The ſtuff is good ſtuff, let him ſay what he will; and the halfpence are good halfpence, and I will ſtand by it: if I made them of ſilver, it would be the ſame thing to this grumbler. As for their being counterfeit, ſure they counterfeit gold and ſilver, and can one help that? for there ever have been rogues of coiners in the world, and will be to the end of it. As for the Dutch, it is time enough to complain when they do coin. I am certain they have not coined one halfpenny as yet; and if they ſhould, I ſhall take care to ſtock you ſo well, that you ſhall have no occaſion for theirs; ſo that they may carry them home again if they pleaſe.

" It would be very hard, if all Ireland ſhould be
" put into one ſcale, and this ſorry fellow Wood
" into the other; that Mr. Wood and his half-
" pence ſhould weigh down this whole kingdom,
" by which England gets above a million of good
" money every year clear into their pockets; and
" that

" that is more than the Engliſh do by all the world " beſides." [p. 225.]

Parturiant montes — But I beg pardon for talking to him in a language which he does not underſtand.

" A famous law-book, called *The mirror of* " *juſtice*, diſcourſing of the charters, (or laws), or- " dained by our ancient kings, declares the law " to be as follows: it was ordained, that no *king* " of this realm ſhould change, impair, or amend, " or make any money than of gold or ſilver, with- " out the aſſent of all the counties; that is, as my " Lord Coke [1. Inſt. 576.] ſays, without the aſ- " ſent of parliament." [p. 226.]

Then he concludes, according to cuſtom, with his fine flattering ſpeeches.

" I will now, my dear friends, to ſave you the " trouble, ſet before you in ſhort what the law " obliges you to do, and what it does not oblige " you to." [This Drapier is an excellent lawyer, I wonder he is not made a Lord Chancellor].

" Firſt, you are obliged to take all money in " payments which is coined by the King, and is of " the Engliſh ſtandard or weight, provided it be of " gold or ſilver.

" Secondly, you are not obliged to take any mo- " ney which is not of gold or ſilver.——

" Thirdly, much leſs are we obliged to take thoſe " vile halfpence of that ſame Wood.——

" Therefore, my friends, ſtand to it one and all: " refuſe this filthy traſh. It is no treaſon to rebel " againſt Mr. Wood. His Majeſty, in his pa- " tent, obliges nobody to take theſe halfpence." [p. 229.]

So then, at this rate, they are coined for nobody, by ſomebody; and ſomebody is to get nothing by nobody. I have made a fine hand of my patent and coinage. Ye ſee, Gentlemen, the force of that argument which the Drapier offers; but I find

find logic is not his talent. Thus have I, with great patience, gone through this injurious piece of ſatire upon myſelf contained in this firſt letter. But knowing that the beſt undertakers have always met with enemies and detractors, I comfort myſelf that I have far defeated this malicious author; that you are all convinced, I am now for all your goods; and though a perfect ſtranger to the country of Ireland, yet a little time will ſhew what induſtry and pains it has coſt me, to make you a flouriſhing and a happy people. It is my inclination to preſerve a good underſtanding between me and you, however wicked people may endeavour to interpoſe. Before I conclude, I have one complaint more: I am told, that pitiful, malicious, inſidious, undermining, ſcribbling Drapier ſet on a parcel of tattered, filthy, Iriſh, buttermilk, potatoe ſcoundrels, to carry my effigies about in wood, and afterwards hang it at Stephen's Green, [p. 37.] for which I hope, when the parliament ſits, to have ample ſatisfaction. I am glad that none of the gentry of Ireland were concerned in that abominable proceſſion.

I am your beſt friend,

W. W.

A full and true account of the solemn procession to the Gallows, at the execution of William Wood, Esq; and Hardwareman *.

Written in the year 1724.

SOME time ago, upon a report spread, that William Wood, hardwareman, was concealed in his brother-in-law's † house here in Dublin, a great number of people of different conditions, and of both sexes, crouded about the door, determinately bent to take revenge upon him, as a coiner and a counterfeiter. Amongst the rest, a certain curious person standing in a corner observed, that they all discovered their resentments in the proper terms and expressions of their several trades and callings; whereof he wrote down as many as he could remember; and was pleased to communicate them to me, with leave to publish them for the use of those who at any time hereafter may be at a loss for proper words wherein to express their good dispositions towards the said William Wood.

* In this piece the author makes the several artificers attend William Wood (represented by a log of timber) to the gallows, and each tradesman expresses his resentment in the terms of his proper calling. Then follows the procession, most humourously described. The whole is a piece of ridicule too powerful for the strongest gravity to withstand. *Orrery.*

† One Molyneux an ironmonger.

The people cried out to have him delivered into their hands.

Says the parliament-man. *Expel* him the *houſe*.
2d parliament-man. I ſecond that *motion*.
Cook. I'll *baſte* him.
2d Cook. I'll give him his *bellyfull*.
3d Cook. I'll give him a *lick* in the *chops*.
4th Cook. I'll *ſouce* him.
Drunken-man. I'll beat him as long as I can *ſtand*.
Bookſeller. I'll turn over a *new leaf* with him.
Saddler. I'll *pummel* him.
Glazier. I'll make the *light* ſhine through him.
Grocer. I'll *pepper* him.
Groom. I'll *curry* his hide.
'Pothecary. I'll *pound* him.
2d 'Pothecary. I'll beat him to *mummy*.
Schoolmaſter. I'll make him an *example*.
Rabbetcatcher. I'll *ferret* him.
Paviour. I'll *thump* him.
Coiner I'll give him a *rap*.
WHIG. *Down* with him.
TORY. *Up* with him.
Miller. I'll daſh out his *grinders*.
2d Miller. *Dam* him.
Boatman. *Sink* him.
Scavenger. Throw him in the *kennel*.
Dyer. I'll beat him *black* and *blue*.
Bagnioman. I'll make the *houſe* too *hot* for him.
Whore. *Pox* rot him.
2d Whore. Let me *alone* with him.
3d Whore. *Clap* him up.
Muſtard-maker. I'll have him by the *noſe*.
Curate. I'll *make the devil come out of him*.
Popiſh-prieſt. I'll *ſend him* to the devil.
Dancing-maſter. I'll *teach him better manners*.
2d Dancing-maſter. I'll make him cut a *caper* three ſtory high.
Farmer. I'll *thraſh him*.
Tailor. I'll ſit on his *ſkirts*,

2d

2d Tailor. *Hell* is too good for him.
3d Tailor. I'll *pink* his *doublet*.
4th Tailor. I'll make his a—— make *buttons*.
Basketmaker. I'll *hamper* him.
Fiddler. I'll have him by the *ears*.
2d Fiddler. I'll bang him to some *tune*.
Barber. I'll have him by the *beard*.
2d Barber. I'll pull his *whiskers*.
3d Barber. I'll make his *hair* stand on end.
4th Barber. I'll *comb* his *locks*.
Tinker. I'll try what *metal* he's made of.
Cobler. I'll make an *end* of him.
Tobacconist. I'll make him *smoke*.
2d Tobacconist. I'll make him set up his *pipes*.
Goldfinder, I'll make him *stink*.
Hackney-coachman. I'll make him know his *driver*.
2d Hackney-coachman. I'll *drive* him to the devil.
Butcher. I'll have a *limb* of him.
2d Butcher. Let us *blow him up*.
3d Butcher. My *knife* in him.
Nurse. I'll swaddle him.
Anabaptist. We'll *dip* the rogue in the *pond*.
Ostler. I'll *rub* him *down*.
Shoemaker. Set him in the *stocks*.
Banker. I'll kick him to *halfcrowns*.
2d Banker. I'll *pay* him off.
Bowler. I'll have a *rubber* with him.
Gamester. I'll make his *bones rattle*.
Bodicemaker. I'll *lace* his sides.
Gardener. I'll make him *water his plants*.
Alewife. I'll *reckon* with him.
Cuckold. I'll make him pull in his horns.
Old woman. I'll *mumble* him.
Hangmen. I'll *throttle* him.

But at laſt the people, having received aſſurances, that William Wood was neither in the houſe nor kingdom, appointed certain commiſſioners to hang him in effigie; whereof the whole ceremony and proceſſion deſerve to be tranſmitted to poſterity.

Firſt, the way was cleared by a detachment of the blackguards, with ſhort ſtick in their hands, and cockades of paper in their hats.

Then appeared William Wood, Eſq: repreſented to the life by an old piece of carved timber, taken from the keel of a ſhip. Upon his face, which looked very diſmal, were fixed at proper diſtances ſeveral pieces of his own coin, to denote who he was, and to ſignify his calling and his crime. He wore on his head a peruke, very artfully compoſed of four old mops; a halter about his neck ſerved him for a cravat. His cloaths were indeed not ſo neat and elegant as is uſual with perſons in his condition, (which ſome cenſorious people imputed to affectation), for he was covered with a large rugg of ſeveral colours in patchwork: he was borne upon the ſhoulders of an able-bodied porter. In his march by St. Stephen's green, he often bowed on both ſides to ſhew his reſpects to the company; his deportment was grave; and his countenance, tho' ſomewhat penſive, was very compoſed.

Behind him followed his father alone, in a long mourning cloak, with his hat over his noſe, and a handkerchief in his left hand to wipe the tears from his face.

Next in order marched the executioner himſelf in perſon; whoſe venerable aſpect drew the eyes of the whole aſſembly upon him; but he was further diſtinguiſhed by a halter, which he bore upon his left ſhoulder as the bage of his office.

Then followed two perſons; the one repreſenting William Wood's brother-in-law; the other a certain ſaddler, his intimate friend, whoſe name I forget. Each had a ſmall kettle in his hand, wherein

wherein was a reasonable quantity of the new halfpence. At proper periods they shook their kettles, which made a melancholy sound, like the ringing of a knell for their partner and confederate.

After these followed several officers, whose assistance was necessary for the more decent performance of the great work in hand.

The procession was closed with an innumerable croud of people, who frequently sent out loud huzzas; which were censured by wiser heads as a mark of inhumanity, and an ungenerous triumph over the unfortunate, without duly considering the various vicissitudes of human life. However, as it becomes an impartial historian, I will not conceal one observation, that Mr. Wood himself appeared wholly unmoved, without the least alteration in his countenance; only when he came within sight of the fatal tree, which happened to be of the same species of timber with his own person, he seemed to be somewhat pensive.

At the place of execution he appeared undaunted, nor was seen to shed a tear. He made no resistance, but submitted himself with great resignation to the hangman, who was indeed thought to use him with too much roughness, neither kissing him nor asking him pardon. His dying SPEECH was printed, and deserves to be written in letters of GOLD. Being asked whether it were his own true genuine SPEECH, he did not deny it.

Those of the softer sex, who attended the ceremony, lamented that so comely and well-timbered a man should come to so untimely an end. He hung but a short time; for upon feeling his breast, they found it cold and stiff.

It is strange to think, how this melancholy spectacle turned the hearts of the people to compassion. When he was cut down, the body was carried through the whole city to gather contributions for his wake; and all sorts of people shewed their liberality

berality according as they were able. The ceremony was performed in an alehouſe of diſtinction, and in a manner ſuitable to the quality of the deceaſed. While the attendants were diſcourſing about his funeral, a worthy member of the aſſembly ſtood up, and propoſed, that the body ſhould be carried out the next day, and burned with the ſame pomp and formalities uſed at his execution; which would prevent the malice of his enemies, and all indignities that might be done to his remains. This was agreed to; and, about nine o'clock, on the following morning there appeared a ſecond proceſſion. But, burning not having been any part of the ſentence, authority thought fit to interpoſe, and the corpſe was reſcued by the civil power.

We hear the body is not yet interred; which occaſions many ſpeculations. But, what is more wonderful, it is poſitively affirmed by many who pretend to have been eye-witneſſes, that there does not appear the leaſt alteration in any one lineament or feature of his countenance; nor viſible decay in his whole frame, further than what had been made by worms long before his execution. The ſolution of which difficulty, I ſhall leave among naturaliſts.

Some Conſiderations on the Attempts to paſs Mr. Wood's BRASS MONEY in Ireland.

By a Lover of his Country.

IT is a melancholy conſideration, to ſee "the ſe-
"veral reſolutions and addreſſes of both houſes
"of parliament of Ireland, during their late ſeſ-
"ſion, the late addreſs of his Majeſty's juſtices and
"privy council of that kingdom, and the petition
"of the county of the city of Dublin;" whereby the unanimous ſenſe of this nation, and "the great
"apprehenſions they were under, from importing
"and uttering copper halfpence and farthings in
"Ireland, by virtue of the patent granted to
"William Wood," have been repreſented in the ſtrongeſt terms: I ſay, it is a melancholy conſideration, to ſee the force of all theſe repreſentations eluded by the petitions of a ſingle perſon, ſuch as Mr. Wood.

If juſtice ſtood on the ſide of this ſingle perſon, it ought to give good men pleaſure to ſee that right ſhould take place; but when, on the contrary, the commonweal of a whole nation, the quieting the minds of a people diſtracted with apprehenſion of the utmoſt danger to their properties, nay, the preſervation of the purity of their laws, is overborne by private intereſt, what good man but muſt lament ſuch an unhappy ſtate of affairs?

And ſince the matter was of this importance, and ſeemed to carry with it the teſtimony of heaven, in the univerſal cry of the people, how could any particular members of a community, which had thus with one voice deprecated the evil, with any

ſhew

ſhew of reaſon take upon them the riſk of any miſcarriage in a trial, in a ſubordinate court?

It was to our gracious Sovereign, that all theſe addreſſes and petitions were preſented: it was into his fatherly hands the whole nation committed the care of their cauſe; and it would have been the higheſt piece of arrogance for any perſon to have preſumed to take upon themſelves a ſhare in that truſt, which was only repoſed in his Majeſty's hands. It is no wonder therefore, "that every one was "guarded with caution, againſt giving any advice "or opinion in this matter of ſtate;" for which reaſon they ought to "apprehend great danger to "themſelves from meddling in it."

Though "this proceeding may ſeem extraordi-"nary;" yet it being on a moſt extraordinary matter, on a matter of ſuch importance, as ſeemed to involve the civil rights and properties of a whole nation in the iſſue of it; on a matter wherein the Lords and Commons were complainants, and the King immediately concerned, not only as general father of his people, but alſo as particular and only truſtee, in whom his people repoſed entire confidence to redreſs the grievances complained of; was it not entirely reaſonable and fit, that every particular perſon of this kingdom ſhould reſt upon what was done by the whole body of the people duly aſſembled in parliament, and not arrogantly aſſume to themſelves a power of putting the fate of this nation to an iſſue before twelve men?

Since then it plainly appears, that this matter is of ſuch a high nature, that no particular perſon ought to have intermeddled in it; it is to be preſumed, that the non-appearance of perſons "to "ſupport the united ſenſe of both houſes of par-"liament of Ireland," can never be conſtrued as a general diffidence, of being able to "ſupport the "charge brought againſt the patent and patentee;" though indeed it might proceed from a general and

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a very reasonable "apprehension of a miscarriage" in this important affair; "wherein both houses of "parliament had declared themselves so fully con- "vinced and satisfied, upon evidence and exami- "nation taken in the most solemn manner;" that for my part I (and so I hope every true lover of his country on his part) will look upon their resolutions to have the same dignity (in this case) with a maxim in law, *quia maxima est eorum dignitas, et certissima authoritas, atque quod maxime omnibus probentur.*

And therefore I don't presume to enter the lists, in order to support the resolutions of both houses of parliament; for I look upon it, that they are "so sure and uncontrollable, that they ought not "to be questioned:" but it shall be the business of this paper to point out some of the mischiefs which will naturally result from this coinage of Mr. Wood's, in case it should be forced upon us.

We are told, that the power of issuing this money of Wood's is limited, "and without any com- "pulsion, and currency inforced, to be received "by such only as would voluntarily and wilfully "accept the same." But then it is melancholy to behold, that this patent is explained to be obligatory "on all his Majesty's officers and ministers," to receive the same.

By this means there is a foundation laid for the most unheard-of confusion that ever was introduced into the business of a nation; for here is established a species of money, made of the basest metal, which none in employments under his Majesty must refuse in payments to the crown or to themselves, and yet all the rest of his subjects are at liberty to refuse the same in payments to be made to them, either by his Majesty, or by any other person.

Thus the revenue of the crown will be highly prejudiced, by the want of intrinsic value in the coin

coin with which it is paid; and the army and all others in emploments under his Majeſty, are the perſons, who, in the firſt place, muſt bear the burthen of this miſchief. For if they are the only perſons who are obliged to receive this coin as current money, it is to be preſumed that no other perſons will receive the ſame but with conſiderable allowance for the difference between the braſs money, and that made of gold and ſilver.

And even with a conſiderable allowance, it will be hard to conceive how this braſs money will find any degree of currency in the world, without the aſſiſtance of a ſet of men, who may probably raiſe great eſtates in this unſettled courſe of affairs; but ſuch a ſet of people ought never to be encouraged by a wiſe government, for they will make their fortunes by the loſſes of good ſubjects, and by preying on the revenue of the prince: and yet thoſe huckſters, or money-jobbers, will be found neceſſary if this braſs money is made current in the exchequer.

To ſhew in ſome meaſure the proportion of this miſchief to his Majeſty's revenue, and to thoſe in immediate offices under him; it muſt be conſidered, that the groſs revenue of this kingdom is about 500,000 l. *per annum*; out of which muſt be deducted the charge of collection and drawbacks; which, to be ſure, the ſeveral collectors, and thoſe who are to receive the drawbacks will take care to receive in Sterling money; about 80,000 l. *per annum*; and there will remain for the diſcharge of the civil and military liſts, penſions, &c. 420,000 l. *per annum*, which ſum, it is probable, iſſues out of the treaſury by monthly payments of about 35,000 l. *per* month; for otherwiſe the current caſh in this nation could not poſſibly pay the revenue, and ſerve to carry on even the little buſineſs of this country, for it hath never been computed that our current coin amounts to more than 50,000 l. ſo that if

40,000 l.

40,000 l. of Mr. Wood's brass money is thrown in upon us, (even admitting that no more of this species should be brought in), it is manifest that that sum will be near one twelfth of the whole coin in the nation; and more than one month's pay of the civil and military lists, and pensions, &c. of this kingdom.

If this sum should stagnate in the treasury, it is certain there will be no greater loss (immediately brought) by this coin to the revenue, than the money that there lies dead amounts to: but if it is issued in monthly payments to the army, and other his Majesty's officers and ministers, as in all probability it must: then this coin, being composed of a base metal, current only in the exchequer, where it is received at an imaginary value, of at least 60 *per cent.* more than the real value of the material, it will be suddenly paid back again to the collectors and by that means pass through the treasury, at least three times in every year; for there we are told, it is to meet with no let or molestation.

And seeing the currency of this money is not inforced on any other of his Majesty's subjects, it is easy to conceive, that the difference of value between this coin, and the gold and silver, which will be current in the nation, will be settled by the money-jobbers, at about 20 *per cent.* discount.

By which means alone, there will be lost in the intrinsic value of the revenue the sum of 24,000 l. *per annum*, without computing for the losses which must necessarily be brought to the revenue, by the general diffidence, which the introducing this coin will create among the people; all which will be manifestly "destructive of the trade and commerce of "the kingdom, and of dangerous consequence to "the properties of the subject."

And yet the evil has been here computed on a supposition that only 40,000 l. of this money will be

be uttered in the kingdom; but I take it to be impoſſible to limit the quantity that ſhall be brought in, eſpecially if the importers of it have ſo ſure a market for the ſame as the exchequer.

For though his Majeſty ſhould be able to prevent Mr. Wood from coining any more than 40,000 l. and ſhould never hereafter be prevailed upon to grant his ſpecial licence or authority to enlarge that ſum, yet it will be impoſſible to prevent the importation of this ſort of coin from other nations. And there have been ſuch variety of dyes made uſe of by Mr. Wood in ſtamping his money, that it makes the diſcovery of counterfeits more difficult; and the profit is ſo great, that it will be a ſufficient temptation to our induſtrious neighbours of Holland to ſend by large quantities of this coin to ſo ſure a market as the exchequer.

And perhaps it may be a queſtion among lawyers, whether a man can be puniſhed, at the King's ſuit, for counterfeiting this coin, becauſe it is not the current coin of the kingdom; for though theſe halfpence are to be received as money in the exchequer, yet in trade they are no better than counters, and therefore the patent may perhaps be conſtrued to be no more than a grant of a monopoly to make thoſe counters.

But it is worth obſerving, that if this patent is ſo worded, as that his Majeſty's officers, employed in the receipt of his revenue, cannot refuſe receiving this coin, it is directly contrary to two acts of parliament now in force in this kingdom, and which are to be found in the books of rates diſtributed among the officers of the revenue.

For by the act of tonnage and poundage, 14 and 15 Car. II. cap. 9. the duties thereby granted to his Majeſty and his ſucceſſors, are to be paid in lawful money of England. And by the act of exciſe, or new impoſt, 14 and 15 Car. II. cap. 8. it is expreſsly declared and enacted, "That the ſeveral

"rates

" rates and duties of excise, and all fines, penal-
" ties, forfeitures, or other sum, or sums of mo-
" ney rated, imposed, set, or forfeited, in and by
" this act, are meant and intended to be current
" and lawful money or monies of England, and
" that all and every of the same, be therefore de-
" manded, received, paid, and satisfied accord-
" ingly."

By these acts it is manifest, that the collectors are obliged to receive the several duties arising from the custom and excise, in no other money but such as is current and lawful money of England; and Mr. Wood's halfpence and farthings not being current or lawful money in England, or in this kingdom, if this patent is obligatory on them to receive payments in this coin, it is contrary to acts of parliament, and therefore void in itself.

And if the several collectors of his Majesty's revenue in this kingdom should receive the said duties, or any part of them, in Mr. Wood's brass money, it would be assuming to themselves a power to dispense with those acts of parliament, contrary to the sense of both houses of parliament, and contrary to their respective oaths; so that it seems highly reasonable, because consonant to law, that " the officers of the revenue should give orders " to the inferior officers, not to receive this " coin."

Perhaps it will be said, that the King hath a power to direct what coin he pleases to be received by the officers of his revenue, and that this patent is in consequence of such a prerogative. But it is to be hoped, that this doctrine will never be maintained, in favour of a coin, to which the whole nation, as well in parliament assembled as in their private capacities, have shewed a general dislike.

Moreover, as this case stands circumstanced, it is a great question, whether his Majesty hath such a

dispensing power: for though it should be allowed, that his Majesty might direct the receipt of his own revenue in what coin he pleases; yet it is most certain, that his Majesty does not intend to inforce the currency of Wood's money among any of his subjects, much less doth his Majesty intend to oblige those who are intitled, by act of parliament to be paid in current money of England, to receive this money of Mr. Wood's.

And it is plain, that, by the act of excise, there are several fines, penalties, and forfeitures, which, by virtue of that act, are to be received in current money of England, and to half those fines, forfeitures, and penalties, the informers are intitled by virtue of the said act: so that if the officers should be obliged to receive them in brass money, the informers must necessarily lose the benefit of the said act: and I may venture to say, that act cannot be repealed but by another act, to be made by King, Lords, and Commons; and not by a patent.

All these things having been, among many other very weighty matters, laid before both houses of parliament of Ireland; it is not to be wondered, that "they represent, that the patent had been obtained in a clandestine and unprecedented manner, and by notorious misrepresentations of the state of Ireland." For what can be more clandestine, than to obtain a patent with powers, not only "highly prejudicial to his Majesty's revenue, "destructive of the trade and commerce of the "kingdom, and of dangerous consequence to "the properties of the subject," but also contrary to several acts of parliament? and that this was an unprecedented attempt, at least in this reign, will be readily allowed; therefore all the representations made of the state of Ireland, in order to obtain this patent, may with great truth be called *notorious misrepresentations*.

But

But it has been ſaid, that his Majeſty cannot proceed againſt the patentee, but according to the known rules and maxims of law and juſtice: and God forbid that any one of this kingdom ſhould adviſe his Majeſty to ſubvert or diſpenſe with any of our laws. No part of the addreſſes from the houſes of parliament of Ireland has the leaſt tendency this way.

For though the houſe of Commons, in their ſecond addreſs to his Majeſty, " moſt humbly beſeech " his Majeſty that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to " give directions to the ſeveral officers intruſted " with the receipt of his Majeſty's revenue, that " they do not, on any pretence whatſoever, utter " ſuch halfpence and farthings :" yet, if his Majeſty had been graciouſly pleaſed to have given orders, according to this humble addreſs of his people of Ireland; it is humbly conceived that this would have been only an affirmance of the law of the land, as hath been ſaid, and not any way contrary to law.

For though his Majeſty, by " his patent under " the great ſeal of Great Britain, wills, requires, " and commands his lieutenant, deputy, or other " chief governor or governors of his kingdom of " Ireland, and all other officers and miniſters of " his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors in England, " Ireland, or elſewhere, to be aiding and aſſiſting " to the ſaid William Wood, his executors, &c. " in the execution of all or any the powers, au- " thorities, directions, matters, or things to be " executed by him or them, or for his or their be- " nefit or advantage, by virtue, and in purſuance " of the ſaid indentures ;" yet it is " in all things " as becometh," &c. And this is to be expounded by the known laws of the land, and by other parts of the ſaid patent, whereby it is manifeſt, that his Majeſty never intended " to inforce the currency

" of this money, to be received by any perſon, that " would not voluntarily and wilfully accept the " ſame."

Therefore, ſince the people have ſhewed a general diſlike of this coin, it is to be hoped, that ſome method will be found out to eaſe their minds from the diſtraction they are under on this occaſion.

A ſhort

A short View of the State of Ireland.

Written in the year 1727.

I AM assured, that it hath for some time been practised as a method of making mens court, when they are asked about the rate of lands, the abilities of tenants, the state of trade and manufacture in this kingdom, and how their rents are paid, to answer, that in their neighbourhood all things are in a flourishing condition, the rent and purchase of land every day increasing. And if a gentleman happen to be a little more sincere in his representations; besides being looked on as not well affected, he is sure to have a dozen contradictors at his elbow. I think it is no manner of secret why these questions are so cordially asked, or so obligingly answered.

But since, with regard to the affairs of this kingdom, I have been using all endeavours to subdue my indignation; to which indeed I am not provoked by any personal interest, not being the owner of one spot of ground in the whole island; I shall only enumerate by rules generally known, and never contradicted, what are the true causes of any country's flourishing and growing rich; and then examine what effects arise from those causes in the kingdom of Ireland.

The first cause of a kingdom's thriving is, the fruitfulness of the soil to produce the necessaries and conveniencies of life; not only sufficient for the inhabitants, but for exportation into other countries.

The second is, the industry of the people, in

working up all their native commodities to the laſt degree of manufacture.

The third is, the conveniency of ſafe ports and havens to carry out their own goods as much manufactured, and bring in thoſe of others as little manufactured, as the nature of mutual commerce will allow.

The fourth is, that the natives ſhould, as much as poſſible, export and import their goods in veſſels of their own timber, made in their own country.

The fifth is, the privilege of a free trade in all foreign countries, which will permit them, except thoſe who are in war, with their own prince or ſtate.

The ſixth is, by being governed only by laws made with their own conſent; for otherwiſe they are not a free people. And therefore all appeals for juſtice, or applications for favour or preferment, to another country, are ſo many grievous impoveriſhments.

The ſeventh is, by improvement of land, encouragement of agriculture, and thereby increaſing the number of their people; without which any country, however bleſſed by nature, muſt continue poor.

The eighth is, the reſidence of the prince, or chief adminiſtrator of the civil power.

The ninth is, the concourſe of foreigners for education, curioſity, or pleaſure; or as to a general mart of trade.

The tenth is, by diſpoſing all offices of honour, profit, or truſt, only to the natives; or at leaſt with very few exceptions, where ſtrangers have long inhabited the country, and are ſuppoſed to underſtand and regard the intereſt of it as their own.

The eleventh is, when the rents of lands, and profits of employments, are ſpent in the country which produced them, and not in another; the former

former of which will certainly happen, where the love of our native country prevails.

The twelfth is, by the public revenues being all ſpent and employed at home, except on the occaſions of a foreign war.

The thirteenth is, where the people are not obliged, unleſs they find it for their own intereſt or conveniency, to receive any monies, except of their own coinage by a public mint, after the manner of all civilized nations.

The fourteenth is, a diſpoſition of the people of a country to wear their own manufactures, and import as few incitements to luxury, either in cloaths, furniture, food, or drink, as they poſſibly can live conveniently without.

There are many other cauſes of a nation's thriving, which I at preſent cannot recollect: but without advantage from at leaſt ſome of theſe, after turning my thoughts a long time, I am not able to diſcover from whence our wealth proceeds, and therefore would gladly be better informed. In the mean time I will here examine, what ſhare falls to Ireland of theſe cauſes, or of the effects and conſequence.

It is not my intention to complain, but barely to relate facts; and the matter is not of ſmall importance. For it is allowed, that a man who lives in a ſolitary houſe, far from help, is not wiſe in endeavouring to acquire in the neighbourhood the reputation of being rich; becauſe thoſe who come for gold, will go off with pewter and braſs, rather than return empty; and in the common practice of the world, thoſe who poſſeſs moſt wealth, make the leaſt parade; which they leave to others, who have nothing elſe to bear them out in ſhewing their faces on the Exchange.

As to the firſt cauſe of a nation's riches, being the fertility of the ſoil, as well as temperature of climate, we have no reaſon to complain: for, although

though the quantity of unprofitable land in this kingdom, reckoning bog and rock, and barren mountain, be double in proportion to what it is in England; yet the native productions, which both kingdoms deal in, are very near an equality in point of goodneſs, and might with the ſame encouragement be as well manufactured. I except mines and minerals; in ſome of which however we are only defective in point of ſkill and induſtry.

In the ſecond, which is the induſtry of the people, our misfortune is not altogether owing to our own fault, but to a million of diſcouragements.

The conveniency of ports and havens, which nature hath beſtowed ſo liberally on this kingdom, is of no more uſe to us, than a beautiful proſpect to a man ſhut up in a dungeon.

As to ſhipping of its own, Ireland is ſo utterly unprovided, that, of all the excellent timber cut down within theſe fifty or ſixty years, it can hardly be ſaid, that the nation hath received the benefit of one valuable houſe to dwell in, or one ſhip to trade with.

Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern ſtory, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleaſed, except to countries at war with their own prince or ſtate: yet this privilege, by the ſuperiority of mere power, is refuſed us in the moſt momentous parts of commerce; beſides an act of navigation, to which we never conſented, pinned down upon us, and rigorouſly executed; and a thouſand other unexampled circumſtances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention. To go on to the reſt:

It is too well known, that we are forced to obey ſome laws we never conſented to; which is a condition I muſt not call by its true uncontroverted name for fear of Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed's ghoſt, with

with his *libertas et natale ſolum**, written for a motto on his coach, as it ſtood at the door of the court, while he was perjuring himſelf to betray both. Thus we are in the condition of patients, who have phyſic ſent them by doctors at a diſtance, ſtrangers to their conſtitution and the nature of their diſeaſe: and thus we are forced to pay five hundred *per cent.* to decide our properties: in all which we have likewiſe the honour to be diſtinguiſhed from the whole race of mankind.

As to the improvement of land: thoſe few who attempt that or planting, through covetouſneſs or want of ſkill generally leave things worſe than they were; neither ſucceeding in trees nor hedges; and by running into the fancy of grazing, after the manner of the Scythians, are every day depopulating the country.

We are ſo far from having a king to reſide among us, that even the viceroy is generally abſent four fifths of his time in the government.

No ſtrangers from other countries make this a part of their travels; where they can expect to ſee nothing but ſcenes of miſery and deſolation.

Thoſe who have the misfortune to be born here, have the leaſt title to any conſiderable employment; to which they are ſeldom preferred, but upon a political conſideration.

One third part of the rents of Ireland is ſpent in England; which, with the profit of employments, penſions, appeals, journeys of pleaſure or health, education at the inns of court and both univerſities, remittances at pleaſure, the pay of all ſuperior officers in the army, and other incidents, will amount to a full half of the income of the whole kingdom, all clear profit to England.

We are denied the liberty of coining gold, ſilver, or even copper. In the iſle of Man they coin their

* Liberty and my native country.

own

own ſilver: every petty prince, vaſſal to the emperor, can coin what money he pleaſeth. And in this, as in moſt of the articles already mentioned, we are an exception to all other ſtates or monarchies that were ever known in the world.

As to the laſt, or fourteenth article, we take ſpecial care to act diametrically contrary to it in the whole courſe of our lives. Both ſexes, but eſpecially the women, deſpiſe and abhor to wear any of their own manufactures, even thoſe which are better made than in other countries; particularly a ſort of ſilk plaid, thro' which the workmen are forced to run a kind of gold thread that it may paſs for Indian. Even ale and potatoes are imported from England, as well as corn: and our foreign trade is little more than importation of French wine, for which I am told we pay ready money.

Now, if all this be true, (upon which I could eaſily enlarge), I would be glad to know, by what ſecret method it is, that we grow a rich and flouriſhing people without liberty, trade, manufactures, inhabitants, money, or the privilege of coining; without induſtry, labour, or improvement of land; and with more than half the rent and profits of the whole kingdom annually exported, for which we receive not a ſingle farthing: and to make up all this, nothing worth mentioning, except the linen of the north, a trade caſual, corrupted and at mercy; and ſome butter from Cork. If we do flouriſh, it muſt be againſt every law of nature and reaſon: like the thorn at Glaſtenbury, that bloſſoms in the midſt of winter.

Let the worthy commiſſioners, who come from England, ride round the kingdom, and obſerve the face of nature, or the face of the natives; the improvement of the land; the thriving numerous plantations; the noble woods; the abundance and vicinity of country-ſeats; the commodious farmers houſes and barns; the towns and villages, where every

very body is busy, and thriving with all kinds of manufactures; the shops full of goods wrought to perfection, and filled with customers; the comfortable diet, and dress, and dwellings of the people; the vast numbers of ships in our harbours and docks, and shipwrights in our sea-port towns; the roads crouded with carriers, laden with rich manufactures; the perpetual concourse to and fro of pompous equipages.

With what envy and admiration would those gentlemen return from so delightful a progress? what glorious reports would they make, when they went back to England.

But my heart is too heavy to continue this irony longer; for it is manifest, that whatever stranger took such a journey, would be apt to think himself travelling in Lapland or Iceland, rather than in a country so favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulness of soil, and temperature of climate. The miserable dress, and diet, and dwelling of the people; the general desolation in most parts of the kingdom; the old seats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins, and no new ones in their stead; the families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and nastiness upon buttermilk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet, or a house so convenient as an English hog-sty to receive them. These indeed may be comfortable sights to an English spectator: who comes for a short time, only *to learn the language*, and returns back to his own country, whither he finds all our wealth transmitted.

Nostra miseria magna est.

There is not one argument used to prove the riches of Ireland, which is not a logical demonstration of its poverty. The rise of our rents is squeezed out of the very blood, and vitals, and cloaths, and dwelling of the tenants, who live worse than English beggars. The lowness of interest, in all other

ther countries a ſign of wealth, is in us a proof of miſery; there being no trade to employ any borrower. Hence alone comes the dearneſs of land, ſince the ſavers have no other way to lay out their money: hence the dearneſs of neceſſaries for life: becauſe the tenants cannot afford to pay ſuch extravagant rates for land, (which they muſt take or go a-begging), without raiſing the price of cattle, and of corn, although themſelves ſhould live upon chaff. Hence our increaſe of buildings in this city; becauſe workmen have nothing to do but to employ one another, and one half of them are infallible undone. Hence the daily increaſe of bankers, who may be a neceſſary evil in a trading country, but ſo ruinous in ours; who for their private advantage, have ſent away all our ſilver, and one third of our gold: ſo that within three years paſt the running caſh of the nation, which was about five hundred thouſand pounds, is now leſs than two, and muſt daily diminiſh, unleſs we have liberty to coin, as well as that important kingdom, the iſle of Man, and the meaneſt principality in the German empire, as I before obſerved.

I have ſometimes thought, that this paradox of the kingdom growing rich is chiefly owing to thoſe worthy gentlemen the BANKERS; who, except ſome cuſtomhouſe officers, birds of paſſage, oppreſſive thrifty 'ſquires, and a few others who ſhall be nameleſs, are the only thriving people among us: and I have often wiſhed, that a law were enacted to hang up half a dozen bankers every year, and thereby interpoſe at leaſt ſome ſhort delay to the further ruin of Ireland.

Ye are idle, ye are idle, anſwered Pharaoh to the Iſraelites, when they complained to his Majeſty, that they were forced to make bricks without ſtraw.

England enjoys every one of thoſe advantages for enriching a nation, which I have above enumerated; and into the bargain, a good million returned

to

to them every year without labour or hazard, or one farthing value received on our ſide: but how long we ſhall be able to continue the payment, I am not under the leaſt concern. One thing I know, that *when the hen is ſtarved to death, there will be no more golden eggs.*

I think it a little unhoſpitable, and others may call it a ſubtile piece of malice, that becauſe there may be a dozen families in this town able to entertain their Engliſh friends in a generous manner at their tables, their gueſts upon their return to England, ſhall report, that we wallow in riches and luxury.

Yet, I confeſs, I have known an hoſpital, where all the houſehold-officers grew rich; while the poor, for whoſe ſake it was built, were almoſt ſtarving for want of food and raiment.

To conclude, if Ireland be a rich and flouriſhing kingdom, its wealth and proſperity muſt be owing to certain cauſes, that are yet concealed from the whole race of mankind; and the effects are equally inviſible. We need not wonder at ſtrangers when they deliver ſuch paradoxes; but a native and inhabitant of this kingdom, who gives the ſame verdict, muſt be either ignorant to ſtupidity, or a manpleaſer at the expenſe of all honour, conſcience, and truth *.

* The preſent ſtate of Ireland † is, in general, as flouriſhing as poſſible. Agriculture is cultivated: arts and ſciences are encouraged: and in the ſpace of eighteen years, which is almoſt the full time that I have known it, no kingdom can be more improved. Ireland, in relation to England, may be compared to a younger ſiſter lately come of age, after having ſuffered all the miſeries of an injured minor, ſuch as law-ſuits, incroachments upon her property, violation of her rights, deſtruction of her tenants, and every evil that can be named. At length time, and her own noble ſpirit of induſtry, have entirely relieved her, and, ſome little heartburnings excepted, ſhe enjoys the quiet poſſeſſion of a very ample fortune, ſubject, by way of acknowledgement, to certain quitrents, payable to the elder branch of her houſe. *Take her all in all*, ſhe cannot have a greater fortune than ſhe deſerves. *Orrery.*

† 1752.

An Answer to a paper, called, *A memorial of the poor inhabitants, tradesmen, and labourers of the kingdom of Ireland.*

Written in the year 1728.

I Received a paper from you, whoever you are, printed without any name of author or printer; and sent, I suppose, to me among others without any particular distinction. It contains a complaint of the dearness of corn; and some schemes for making it cheaper, which I cannot approve of.

But pray permit me, before I go further, to give you a short history of the steps by which we arrived at this hopeful situation.

It was indeed the shameful practice of too many Irish farmers to wear out their ground with ploughing; while, either through poverty, laziness, or ignorance, they neither took care to manure it as they ought, nor give time to any part of the land to recover itself; and when their leases are near expiring, being assured that their landlords would not renew, they ploughed even the meadows, and made such havock, that many landlords were considerable sufferers by it *.

This gave birth to that abominable race of graziers, who upon expiration of the farmers leases were ready to ingross great quantities of land; and the gentlemen having been before often ill paid, and their land wore out of heart, were too easily

* This practice probably produced the penal clauses to prohibit ploughing, mentioned in the *Proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures*.

tempted,

tempted, when a rich grafier made an offer to take all their land, and give them fecurity for payment. Thus, a vaft tract of land, where twenty or thirty farmers lived, together with their cottagers and labourers in their feveral cabbins, became all defolate, and eafily managed by one or two herdfmen and their boys; whereby the mafter-grafier with little trouble feized to himfelf the livelihood of a hundred people.

It muft be confeffed, that the farmers were juftly punifhed for their knavery, brutality, and folly. But neither are the fquires and landlords to be excufed; for to them is owing the depopulating of the country, the vaft number of beggars, and the ruin of thofe few forry improvements we had.

That farmers fhould be limited in ploughing, is very reafonable, and practifed in England; and might have eafily been done here by penal clauſes in their leafes: but to deprive them in a manner altogether from tilling their lands, was a moft ftupid want of thinking.

Had the farmers been confined to plough a certain quantity of land, with a penalty of ten pounds an acre for whatever they exceeded, and farther limited for the three or four laft years of their leafes, all this evil had been prevented; the nation would have faved a million of money; and been more populous by above two hundred thoufand fouls.

For a people denied the benefit of trade, to manage their lands in fuch a manner as to produce nothing, but what they are forbidden to trade with, or only fuch things as they can neither export nor manufacture to advantage; is an abfurdity that a wild Indian would be aſhamed of; efpecially when we add, that we are content to purchafe this hopeful commerce by fending to foreign markets for our daily bread.

The grafier's employment is to feed great flocks of fheep, or black cattle, or both. With regard

to ſheep, as folly is uſually accompanied with perverſeneſs, ſo it is here. There is ſomething ſo monſtrous to deal in a commodity (further than for our own uſe) which we are not allowed to export manufactured, nor even unmanufactured, but to one certain country, and only to ſome few ports in that country; there is, I ſay, ſomething ſo ſottiſh, that it wants a name in our language to expreſs it by; and the good of it is, that the more ſheep we have, the fewer human creatures are left to wear the wool, or eat the fleſh. Ajax was mad, when he miſtook a flock of ſheep for his enemies: but we ſhall never be ſober, until we have the ſame way of thinking.

The other part of the graſier's buſineſs is what we call *black cattle*, producing hides, tallow, and beef for exportation: all which are good and uſeful commodities, if rightly managed. But it ſeems, the greateſt part of the hides are ſent out raw for want of bark to tan them; and that want will daily grow ſtronger: for, I doubt, the new project of tanning without it is at an end. Our beef, I am afraid, ſtill continues ſcandalous in foreign markets for the old reaſons. But our tallow, for any thing I know, may be good. However, to beſtow the whole kingdom on beef and mutton, and thereby drive out half the people, who ſhould eat their ſhare, and force the reſt to ſend ſometimes as far as Egypt for bread to eat with it, is a moſt peculiar and diſtinguiſhed piece of public œconomy, of which I have no comprehenſion.

I know very well that our anceſtors the Scythians, and their poſterity our kinſmen the Tartars, lived upon the blood, and milk, and raw fleſh of their cattle, without one grain of corn; but I confeſs myſelf ſo degenerate, that I am not eaſy without bread to my victuals.

What amazed me for a week or two, was to ſee, in this prodigious plenty of cattle, and dearth of human

human creatures, and want of bread, as well as money to buy it, that all kind of flesh-meat should be monstrously dear, beyond what was ever known in this kingdom. I thought it a defect in the laws, that there was not some regulation in the price of flesh, as well as bread: but I imagine myself to have guessed out the reason: in short, I am apt to think, that the whole kingdom is overstocked with cattle, both black and white: and as it is observed, that the poor Irish have a vanity to be rather owners of two lean cows, than one fat, although with double the charge of grasing, and but half the quantity of milk; so I conceive it much more difficult at present to find a fat bullock or wether, than it would be, if half of them were fairly knocked on the head: for I am assured, that the district in the several markets, called *carrion-row*, is as reasonable as the poor can desire; only the circumstance of money to purchase it, and of trade, or labour, to purchase that money, are indeed wholly wanting.

Now, Sir, to return more particularly to you, and your memorial.

A hundred thousand barrels of wheat, you say, should be imported hither; and ten thousand pounds præmium to the importers. Have you looked into the purse of the nation; I am no commissioner of the treasury; but am well assured, that the whole running cash would not supply you with a sum to purchase so much corn, which only at twenty shillings a-barrel, will be a hundred thousand pounds; and ten thousand more for the præmium. But you will traffic for your corn with other goods: and where are those goods? If you had them, they are all engaged to pay the rents of absentees, and other occasions in London, besides a huge balance of trade this year against us. Will foreigners take our bankers paper? I suppose, they will value it a little more than so much a quire. Where are

theſe rich farmers and ingroſſers of corn, in ſo bad a year, and ſo little ſowing?

You are in pain for two ſhillings præmium, and forget the twenty ſhillings for the price; find me out the latter, and I will engage for the former.

Your ſcheme for a tax for raiſing ſuch a ſum is all viſionary, and owing to a great want of knowledge in the miſerable ſtate of this nation. Tea, coffee, ſugar, ſpices, wine, and foreign cloaths, are the particulars you mention, upon which this tax ſhould be raiſed. I will allow the two firſt: becauſe they are unwholeſome; and the laſt, becauſe I ſhould be glad if they were all burned; but I beg you will leave us our wine to make us a while forget our miſery: or give your tenants leave to plough for barley. But I will tell you a ſecret, which I learned many years ago from the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms in London: they ſaid, when any commodity appeared to be taxed above a moderate rate, the conſequence was to leſſen that branch of the revenue by one half; and one of thoſe gentlemen pleaſantly told me, that the miſtake of parliaments on ſuch occaſions was owing to an error of computing two and two to make four; whereas in the buſineſs of laying heavy impoſitions two and two never made more than one; which happens by leſſening the import, and the ſtrong temptation of running ſuch goods as paid high duties, at leaſt in this kingdom. Although the women are as vain and extravagant as their lovers or their huſbands can deſerve, and the men are fond enough of wine, yet the number of both who can afford ſuch expenſes, is ſo ſmall, that the major part muſt refuſe gratifying themſelves, and the duties will rather be leſſened than increaſed. But allowing no force in this argument; yet ſo preternatural a ſum, as one hundred and ten thouſand pounds, raiſed all on a ſudden, (for there is no dallying with hunger, is juſt

in

in proportion with raiſing a million and a half in England; which, as things now ſtand, would probably bring that opulent kingdom under ſome difficulties.

You are concerned how ſtrange and ſurpriſing it would be in foreign parts to hear, that the poor were ſtarving in a RICH country, *&c.* Are you in earneſt? is Ireland the rich country you mean? or are you inſulting our poverty? were you ever out of Ireland? or were you ever in it till of late? you may probably have a good employment, and are ſaving all you can to purchaſe a good eſtate in England. But by talking ſo familiarly of one hundred and ten thouſand pounds by a tax upon a few commodities, it is plain, you are either naturally or affectedly ignorant of our preſent condition; or elſe you would know and allow, that ſuch a ſum is not to be raiſed here, without a general exciſe; ſince, in proportion to our wealth, we pay already in taxes more than England ever did in the height of the war. And when you have brought over your corn, who will be buyers? Moſt certainly, not the poor, who will not be able to purchaſe the twentieth part of it.

Sir, upon the whole, your paper is a very crude piece, liable to more objections than there are lines; but, I think, your meaning is good, and ſo far you are pardonable.

If you will propoſe a general contribution for ſupporting the poor in potatoes and buttermilk, till the new corn comes in, perhaps you may ſucceed better; becauſe the thing at leaſt is poſſible: and I think if our brethren in England would contribute upon this emergency, out of the million they gain from us every year, they would do a piece of juſtice as well as charity. In the mean time go and preach to your own tenants to fall to the plough as faſt as they can; and prevail with your neighbouring 'ſquires to do the ſame with theirs; or elſe die with

with the guilt of having driven away half the inhabitants, and ſtarving the reſt. For, as to your ſcheme of raiſing "one hundred and ten thou-"ſand pounds," it is as vain as that of Rabelais, which was to ſqueeze out wind from the poſteriors of a dead aſs.

But why all this concern for the poor? We want them not as the country is now managed; they may follow thouſands of their leaders, and ſeek their bread abroad. Where the plough has no work, one family can do the buſineſs of fifty, and you may ſend away the other forty-nine. An admirable piece of huſbandry, never known or practiſed by the wiſeſt nations, who erroneouſly thought people to be the riches of a country.

If ſo wretched a ſtate of things would allow it, methinks I could have a malicious pleaſure, after all the warning I have given the public at my own peril for ſeveral years paſt, to ſee the conſequences and events anſwering in every particular. I pretend to no ſagacity; what I write was little more than what I had diſcourſed to ſeveral perſons, who were generally of my opininion: and it was obvious to every common underſtanding, that ſuch effects muſt needs follow from ſuch cauſes. A fair iſſue of things begun upon party-rage, while ſome ſacrificed the public to fury, and others to ambition: while a ſpirit of faction and oppreſſion reigned in every part of the country, where gentlemen, inſtead of conſulting the eaſe of their tenants or cultivating their lands, were worrying one another upon points of Whig and Tory, of high church and low church; which no more concerned them, than the long and famous controverſy of ſtrops for razors *; while agriculture was wholly diſ-

* A piece of leather paſted on wood to be uſed with a certain powder, for the property and excellence of which ſeveral competitors eagerly contended.

couraged,

couraged, and conſequently half the farmers, and labourers, and poor tradeſmen, forced to beggary or baniſhment: "Wiſdom crieth in the ſtreets; "becauſe I have called on you; I have ſtretched "out my hand, and no man regarded. But ye have "ſet at nought all my counſels, and would none of "my reproof. I alſo will laugh at your calamity, "and mock when your fear cometh."

I have now done with your memorial, and freely excuſe your miſtakes, ſince you appear to write as a ſtranger, and as of a country which is left at liberty to enjoy the benefits of nature, and to make the beſt of thoſe advantages which God hath given it in ſoil,, climate, and ſituation.

But having lately ſent out a paper, intitled, *A ſhort view of the ſtate of Ireland*; and hearing of an objection, that ſome people think I have treated the memory of the late Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed with an appearance of ſeverity: ſince I may not probably have another opportunity of explaining myſelf in that particular, I chuſe to do it here; laying it therefore down for a *poſtulatum*, which I ſuppoſe will be univerſally granted, that no little creature of ſo mean a birth and genius had ever the honour to be a greater enemy to his country, and to all kinds of virtue than HE. I anſwer thus: Whether there be two different goddeſſes called *Fame*, as ſome authors contend, or only one goddeſs ſounding two different trumpets, it is certain, that people diſtinguiſhed for their villany have as good a title to a blaſt from the proper trumpet, as thoſe who are moſt renowned for their virtues have from the other; and have equal reaſon to complain if it be refuſed them. And accordingly the names of the moſt celebrated profligates have been faithfully tranſmitted down to poſterity. And although the perſon here underſtood acted his part in an obſcure corner of the world; yet his talents might have

have ſhone with luſtre enough in the nobleſt ſcene.

As to my naming a perſon dead, the plain honeſt reaſon is the beſt. He was armed with power, and will to do miſchief, even where he was not provoked, as appeared by his proſecuting two printers, one to death, and both to ruin, who had neither offended God, nor the King, nor him, nor the public.

What an encouragement to vice is this? If an ill man be alive, and in power, we dare not attack him, and if he be weary of the world, or of his own villanies, he has nothing to do but die, and then his reputation is ſafe. For theſe excellent caſuiſts know juſt *Latin* enough to have heard a moſt fooliſh precept, that *de mortuis nil niſi bonum* ; ſo that if Socrates, and Anytus his accuſer *, had happened to die together, the charity of ſurvivors muſt either have obliged them to hold their peace, or to fix the ſame character on both. The only crime of charging the dead is, when the leaſt doubt remains whether the accuſation be true ; but when men are openly abandoned, and loſt to all ſhame, they have no reaſon to think it hard if their memory be reproached. Whoever reports, or otherwiſe publiſhed any thing, which it is poſſible may be falſe, that man is a ſlanderer ; *hic niger eſt, hunc tu, Romane, caveto.* Even the leaſt miſrepreſentation, or aggravation of facts, deſerves the ſame cenſure in ſome degree: but in this caſe I am quite deceived ; if my error hath not been on the ſide of extenuation.

I have now preſent before me the idea of ſome perſons (I know not in what part of the world) who ſpend every moment of their lives, and every turn of their thoughts while they are awake, (and

* Anytus one of the wretches who accuſed Socrates of contemning the gods. and endeavouring to ſubvert the religion of his country.

probably

Probably of their dreams while they ſleep), in the moſt deteſtable actions and deſigns; who delight in miſchief, ſcandal, and obloquy, with the hatred and contempt of all mankind againſt them; but chiefly of thoſe among their own party, and their own family; ſuch, whoſe odious qualities rival each other for perfection; avarice, brutality, faction, pride, malice, treachery, noiſe, impudence, dulneſs, ignorance, vanity, and revenge, contending every moment for ſuperiority in their breaſts. Such creatures are not to be reformed; neither is it prudent or ſafe to attempt a reformation. Yet, although their memories will rot, there may be ſome benefit for their ſurvivors, to ſmell it while it is rotting.

I am, SIR,

your humble ſervant,

Dublin, March 25.
1728. A. B.

A VINDICATION of his Excellency JOHN Lord CARTERET, from the charge of favouring none but *Tories, Highchurchmen*, and *Jacobites* *.

Written in the year 1730.

IN order to treat this important subject with the greatest fairness and impartiality, perhaps it may be convenient to give some account of his Excellency; in whose life and character there are certain particulars, which might give a very just suspicion of some truth in the accusation he lies under.

He is descended from two noble, ancient, and most loyal families, the Carterets, and the Granvilles: too much distinguished, I confess, for what they acted, and what they suffered in defending the former constitution in church and state under King Charles the Martyr; I mean that very prince, on account of whose martyrdom " a form of prayer,

* The view of this piece seems to be to recommend moderation, and laugh political bigotry out of countenance.

In this piece the failings of the Noble Lord, arising from the prejudices of great talents and a learned education, are finely displayed with infinite wit and humour. However, indeed, there is couched here abundance of satire. *Pistorides*, that poor, angry, bustling mortal, he treats with all imaginable contempt: but in his satire against *Traulus* he spares not to draw blood at every stroke; the former part of which is bitterly sarcastic, and the latter as bitterly ironical. His account of *Agesilaus* being caught by the *parson of the parish* riding on a hobby-horse with his children, and some other touches of the like sort, are truly diverting. *D. Swift.*

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" with faſting, was injoined by act of parliament, " to be uſed on the 30th day of January every " year, to implore the mercies of God, that the " guilt of that ſacred and innocent blood might " not be viſited on us or our poſterity :" as we may read at large in our Common Prayer Books ; which day hath been ſolemnly kept, even within the memory of many men now alive.

His Excellency the preſent Lord was educated in the univerſity of Oxford ; from whence, with a ſingularity ſcarce to be juſtified, he carried away more Greek, Latin, and philoſophy, than properly became a perſon of his rank ; indeed much more of each than moſt of thoſe who are forced to live by their learning will be at the unneceſſary pains to load their heads with.

This was the rock he ſplit on upon his firſt appearance in the world, and having juſt got clear of his guardians. For as ſoon as he came to town, ſome biſhops and clergymen, and other perſons moſt eminent for learning and parts, got him among them ; from whom although he were fortunately dragged by a lady and the court, yet he could never wipe off the ſtain, nor waſh off the tincture of his univerſity acquirements and diſpoſitions.

To this another misfortune was added, that it pleaſed God to endow him with great natural talents, memory, judgement, comprehenſion, eloquence, and wit ; and, to finiſh the work, all theſe were fortified even in his youth with the advantages received by ſuch employments as are beſt fitted both to exerciſe and poliſh the gifts of nature and education, having been ambaſſador in ſeveral courts, when his age would hardly allow him to take a degree ; and made principal ſecretary of ſtate at a period when, according to cuſtom, he ought to have been buſied in loſing his money at a chocolate-houſe ; or in other amuſements equally laudable and epidemic among perſons of honour.

I cannot omit another weak ſide in his Excellency. For it is known, and can be proved upon him, that Greek and Latin books might be found every day in his dreſſing-room, if it were carefully ſearched; and there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that ſome of the ſaid books have been privately conveyed to him by Tory hands. I am likewiſe aſſured, that he hath been taken in the very fact of reading the ſaid books, even in the midſt of a ſeſſion, to the great neglect of public affairs.

I own, there may be ſome grounds for this charge; becauſe I have it from good hands, that when his Excellency is at dinner with one or two ſcholars at his elbows, he grows a moſt inſupportable and unintelligible companion to all the fine gentlemen round the table.

I cannot deny, that his Excellency lies under another very great diſadvantage. For with all the accompliſhments above mentioned, adding that of a moſt comely and graceful perſon, and during the prime of youth, ſpirits, and vigour, he hath in a moſt unexemplary manner led a regular domeſtic life; diſcovers a great eſteem, and friendſhip, and love for his lady, as well as true affection for his children; and when he is diſpoſed to admit an entertaining evening companion, he doth not always enough reflect, whether the perſon may poſſibly in former days have lain under the imputation of a Tory; nor at ſuch times do the natural or affected fears of Popery and the Pretender make any part of the converſation: I preſume, becauſe neither Homer, Plato, Ariſtotle, or Cicero, have made any mention of them.

Theſe I freely acknowledge to be his Excellency's failings; yet I think it is agreed by philoſophers and divines, that ſome allowance ought to be given to human infirmity, and to the prejudices of a wrong education.

I am well aware, how much my ſentiments differ from

rom the orthodox opinions of one or two princi-
al patriots, at the head of whom I name with ho-
our Piſtorides. For theſe have decided the matter
irectly againſt me by declaring, that no perſon,
who was ever known to lie under the ſuſpicion of
ne ſingle Tory principle, or who had been once
een at a great man's levee in the *worſt of times* *,
hould be allowed to come within the verge of the
aſtle; much leſs to bow in the antichamber, ap-
ear at the aſſemblies, or dance at a birth-night.
However, I dare aſſert, that this maxim hath been
often controlled; and that, on the contrary, a
conſiderable number of early penitents have been
received into grace, who are now an ornament, hap-
pineſs, and ſupport to the nation.

Neither do I find any murmuring on ſome other
points of greater importance, where this favourite
maxim is not ſo ſtrictly obſerved.

To inſtance only in one: I have not heard, that
any care hath hitherto been taken to diſcover whe-
ther Madam † Violante be a Whig or Tory in her
principles; or even that ſhe hath ever been "offer-
"ed the oaths to the government:" on the contra-
ry, I am told, that ſhe openly profeſſeth herſelf to
be a high-flier; and it is not improbable by her
outlandiſh name, ſhe may alſo be a Papiſt in her
heart; yet we ſee this illuſtrious and dangerous fe-
male openly careſſed by principal perſons of both
parties; who contribute to ſupport her in a ſplen-
did manner, without the leaſt apprehenſions from
a grand jury, or even from 'Squire Hartley Hut-
cheſon himſelf, that "zealous proſecutor of hawk-
"ers and libels." And, as Hobbes wiſely obſerves,
ſo much money being equivalant to ſo much power,
it may deſerve conſidering, with what ſafety ſuch

* The three laſt years of Queen Anne, when Lord Oxford was miniſter, were ſo called by the Whigs.

† A famous Italian rope-dancer.

an inſtrument of power ought to be truſted in the hands of an alien, who hath not given any legal ſecurity for her good affection to the government.

I confeſs, there is one evil which I could wiſh our friends would think proper to redreſs. There are many Whigs in this kingdom of the old faſhioned ſtamp, of whom we might have made very good uſe; they bear the ſame loyalty with us to the Hanoverian family in the perſon of K. George II. the ſame abhorrence of the Pretender, with the conſequences of Popery and ſlavery, and the ſame indulgence to tender conſciences: but having nothing to aſk for themſelves, and therefore the more leiſure to think for the public, they are often apt to entertain fears and melancholy proſpects concerning the ſtate of their country, the decay of trade, the want of money, the miſerable condition of the people, with other topics of the like nature; all which do equally concern both Whig and Tory; who, if they have any thing to loſe, muſt be equally ſufferers. Perhaps, one or two of theſe melancholy gentlemen will ſometimes venture to publiſh their thoughts in print: now, I can by no means approve our uſual cuſtom of curſing and railing at this ſpecies of thinkers, under the names of Tories, Jacobites, Papiſts, libellers, rebels, and the like.

This was the utter ruin of that poor, angry, buſtling, well-meaning mortal Piſtorides; who lies equally under the contempt of both parties; with no other difference than a mixture of pity on one ſide, and of averſion on the other.

How hath he been pelted, peſtered, and pounded by one ſingle wag, who promiſeth never to forſake him, living or dead?

I was much pleaſed with the humour of a ſurgeon in this town; who having, in his own apprehenſion, received ſome great injuſtice from the Earl of Galway, and deſpairing of revenge as well as relief,

relief, declared to all his friends, that he had ſet apart one hundred guineas to purchaſe the Earl's carcaſe from the ſexton, whenever *it* ſhould die, to make a ſkeleton of the bones, ſtuff the hide, and ſhew them for three pence; and thus get vengeance for the injuries he had ſuffered by its owner.

Of the like ſpirit too often is that implacable race of wits; againſt whom there is no defence but innocence and philoſophy: neither of which is likely to be at hand; and therefore the wounded have no where to fly for a cure but to downright ſtupidity, a crazed head, or a profligate contempt of guilt and ſhame.

I am therefore ſorry for that other miſerable creature Traulus; who, although of ſomewhat a different ſpecies, yet ſeems very far to outdo even the genius of Piſtorides in that miſcarrying talent of railing without conſiſtency or diſcretion againſt the moſt innocent perſons according to the preſent ſituation of his gall and ſpleen. I do not blame an honeſt gentleman for the bittereſt invectives againſt one to whom he profeſſeth the greateſt friendſhip; provided he acts in the dark, ſo as not to be diſcovered: but in the midſt of careſſes, viſits, and invitations, to run into the ſtreets, or to as public a place, and without the leaſt pretended incitement ſputter out the baſeſt and falſeſt accuſations; then to wipe his mouth, come up ſmiling to his friend, ſhake him by the hand, and tell him in a whiſper, it was all for his ſervice: this proceeding, I am bold to think a great failure in prudence: and I am afraid leſt ſuch a practitioner, with a body ſo open, ſo foul, and ſo full of ſores, may fall under the reſentment of an incenſed political ſurgeon, who is not in much renown for his mercy upon great provocation: who, without waiting for his death, will flay and diſſect him alive; and to the view of all mankind lay open all the diſordered cells

of his brain, the venom of his tongue, the corruption of his heart, and ſpots and flatuſes of his ſpleen: and all this for three pence.

In ſuch a caſe, what a ſcence would be laid open! and, to drop my metaphor, what a character of our miſtaking friend might an angry enemy draw and expoſe! particularizing that unnatural conjunction of vices and follies ſo inconſiſtent with each other in the ſame breaſt: furious and fawning, ſcurrilous and flattering, cowardly and provoking, inſolent and abject; moſt profligately falſe, with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of ſincerity; poſitive and variable, tyrannical and ſlaviſh.

I apprehend, that if all this ſhould be ſet out to the world by an angry Whig of the old ſtamp, the unavoidable conſequence muſt be a confinement of our friend for ſome months more to his garret; and thereby depriving the public for ſo long time, and in ſo important a juncture, of his uſeful talents in their ſervice, while he is fed like a wild beaſt through a hole; but I hope, with a ſpecial regard to the quantity and quality of his nouriſhment.

In vain would his excuſers endeavour to palliate his enormities by imputing them to madneſs; becauſe it is well known, that madneſs only operates by enflaming and enlarging the good or evil diſpoſitions of the mind. For the curators of Bedlam aſſure us, that ſome lunatics are perſons of honour, truth, benevolence, and many other virtues, which appear in their higheſt ravings, although after a wild incoherent manner; while others, on the contrary, diſcover in every word and action the utmoſt baſeneſs and depravity of human minds; which infallibly they poſſeſſed in the ſame degree, although perhaps under a better regulation, before their entrance into that academy.

But it may be objected, that there is an argument of much force to excuſe the overflowings of that zeal which our friend ſhews or means for our cauſe.

And

And it muſt be confeſſed, that " the eaſy and " ſmooth fluency of his elocution, beſtowed on " him by nature, and cultivated by continual prac- " tice, added to the comelineſs of his perſon, the " harmony of his voice, the gracefulneſs of his " manner, and the decency of his dreſs," are temptations too ſtrong for ſuch a genius to reſiſt upon any public occaſion of making them appear with univerſal applauſe. And if good men are ſometimes accuſed of loving their jeſt better than their friend; ſurely to gain the reputation of the firſt orator in the kingdom, no man of ſpirit would ſcruple to loſe all the friends he had in the world.

It is uſual for maſters to make their boys declaim on both ſides of an argument; and as ſome kinds of aſſemblies are called the ſchools of politics, I confeſs nothing can better improve political ſchool-boys, than the art of making plauſible or implauſible harangues againſt the very opinion for which they reſolve to determine.

So Cardinal Perron, after having ſpoke for an hour to the admiration of all his hearers, to prove the exiſtence of God, told ſome of his intimates, that he could have ſpoken another hour, and much better, to prove the contrary.

I have placed this reaſoning in the ſtrongeſt light that I think it will bear; and have nothing to anſwer, but that, allowing it as much weight as the reader ſhall pleaſe, it hath conſtantly met with ill ſucceſs in the mouth of our friend; but whether for want of good luck, or good management, I ſuſpend my judgment.

To return from this long digreſſion: If perſons in high ſtations have been allowed to chuſe wenches without regard even to difference in religion, yet never incurred the leaſt reflection on their loyalty, or their Proteſtantiſm; ſhall the chief governor of a great kingdom be cenſured for chuſing a companion, who may formerly have been ſuſpected for differing

differing from the orthodox in ſome ſpeculative opinions of perſons and things, which cannot affect the fundamental principles of a ſound Whig.

But let me ſuppoſe a very poſſible caſe. Here is a perſon ſent to govern Ireland, whoſe unfortunate weak ſide it happens to be, for ſeveral reaſons above mentioned, that he hath encouraged the attendance of one or two gentlemen diſtinguiſhed for their taſte, their wit, and their learning; who have taken the oaths to his Majeſty, and pray heartily for him: yet becauſe they may perhaps be ſtigmatized as *quondam* Tories by Piſtorides and his gang, his Excellency muſt be forced to baniſh them under the pain and peril of diſpleaſing the zealots of his own party; and thereby be put into a worſe condition than every common good-fellow, who may be a ſincere Proteſtant and a loyal ſubject, and yet rather chuſe to drink fine ale at the Pope's head, than muddy at the King's.

Let me then return to my ſuppoſitions. It is certain, the high-flown loyaliſt, in the preſent ſenſe of the word, have their thoughts, and ſtudies, and tongues, ſo entirely diverted by political ſchemes, that the zeal of their principles hath eaten up their underſtandings: neither have they time, from their employments, their hopes, and their hourly labours, for acquiring new additions of merit to amuſe themſelves with philological converſe or ſpeculations, which are utterly ruinous to all ſchemes of riſing in the world. What then muſt a great man do, whoſe ill ſtars have fatally perverted him to a love, and taſte, and poſſeſſion of literature, politeneſs, and good ſenſe? our thorough-ſped republic of Whigs, which contains the bulk of all hopers, pretenders, expectors, and profeſſors, are beyond all doubt moſt highly uſeful to princes, to governors, to great miniſters, and to their country; but at the ſame time, and by neceſſary conſequence, the moſt diſagreeable companions to all, who have that

that unfortunate turn of mind peculiar to his Excellency, and perhaps to five or six more in a nation.

I do not deny it possible, that an original or proselyte favourite of the times might have been born to those useless talents, which in former ages qualified a man to be a poet or a philosopher. All I contend for, is, that where the true genius of party once enters, it sweeps the house clean, and leaves room for many other spirits to take joint possession, until the last state of that man is exceedingly better than the first.

I allow it a great error in his Excellency, that he adheres so obstinately to his old unfashionable academic education; yet so perverse is human nature, that the usual remedies for this evil in others have produced a contrary effect in him; to a degree that I am credibly informed, he will, as I have already hinted, in the middle of a session, quote passages out of Plato and Pindar at his own table to some book-learned companion without blushing, even when persons of great stations are by.

I will venture one step further; which is, freely to confess, that this mistaken method of educating youth in the knowledge of ancient learning and language is too apt to spoil their politics and principles; because the doctrine and examples of the books they read, teach them lessons directly contrary in every point to the present practice of the world: and accordingly Hobbes most judiciously observes, that the writings of the Greeks and Romans made young men imbibe opinions against absolute power in a prince, or even in a first minister; and to embrace notions of liberty and property.

It hath been therefore a great felicity in these kingdoms, that the heirs to titles and large estates have a weakness in their eyes, a tenderness in their constitutions; are not able to bear the pain and indignity of whipping; and, as the mother rightly expresses it, could never *take to their books*, yet are well

well enough qualified to ſign a receipt for half a year's rent, to put their names (*rightly ſpelt*) to a warrant, and to read pamphlets againſt religion and high-flying; whereby they fill their niches, and carry themſelves through the world with that dignity which beſt becomes a ſenator and a 'ſquire.

I could heartily wiſh his Excellency would be more condeſcending to the genius of the kingdom he governs; to the condition of the times, and to the nature of the ſtation he fills. Yet if it be true, what I have read in old Engliſh ſtory-books, that one Ageſilaus (no matter to the bulk of my readers whether I ſpell the name right or wrong) was caught by the parſon of the pariſh riding on a hobby-horſe with his children; that Socrates, a Heathen philoſoper, was found dancing by himſelf at fourſcore; that a King called *Cæſar Auguſtus* (or ſome ſuch name) uſed to play with boys, whereof ſome might poſſibly be ſons of Tories; and that two great men called *Scipio* and *Lælius*, (I forget their Chriſtian names and whether they were poets or generals), often played at duck and drake with ſmooth ſtones on a river. Now, I ſay, if theſe facts be true, (and the book where I found them is in print), I cannot imagine, why our moſt zealous patriots may not a little indulge his Excellency in an infirmity which is not morally evil; provided he gives no public ſcandal; which is by all means to be avoided: I ſay, why he may not be indulged twice a-week to converſe with one or two particular perſons; and let him and them conn over their old exploded readings together, after mornings ſpent in hearing and preſcribing ways and means from and to his moſt obedient politicians for the welfare of the kingdom; although the ſaid particular perſon, or perſons, may not have made ſo public a declaration of their political faith in all its parts, as the buſineſs of the nation requires: ſtill ſubmitting my opinion to that happy majority, which I am confi-

dent

dent is always in the right; by whom the liberty of the ſubject hath been ſo frequently, ſo ſtrenuouſly, and ſo ſucceſsfully aſſerted; who, by their wiſe councils, have made commerce to flouriſh, money to abound, inhabitants to increaſe, the value of lands and rents to riſe; and the whole iſland put on a new face of plenty and proſperity.

But, in order to clear his Excellency more fully from this accuſation of ſhewing his favour to high-fliers, Tories, and Jacobites, it will be neceſſary to come to particulars.

The firſt perſon of a Tory denomination, to whom his Excellency gave any marks of his favour, was Dr. Thomas Sheridan. It is to be obſerved, that this happened ſo early in his Excellency's government, as it may be juſtly ſuppoſed he had not been informed of that gentleman's character upon ſo dangerous an article. The Doctor being well known, and diſtinguiſhed for his ſkill and ſucceſs in the education of youth beyond moſt of his profeſſion for many years paſt, was recommended to his Excellency on the ſcore of his learning, and particularly for his knowledge in the Greek tongue; whereof, it ſeems, his Excellency is a great admirer, although for what reaſons I could never imagine. However, it is agreed on all hands, that his Lordſhip was too eaſily prevailed on by the Doctor's requeſt, or indeed rather from the bias of his own nature, to hear a tragedy acted in that unkown language by the Doctor's lads, which was written by ſome heathen author; but whether it contained any Tory or high-church principles, muſt be left to the conſciences of the boys, the Doctor, and his Excellency: the only witneſſes in this caſe, whoſe teſtimonies can be depended upon.

It ſeems, his Excellency (a thing never to be ſufficiently wondered at) was ſo pleaſed with his entertainment, that ſome time after he gave the Doctor a church-living to the value of almoſt one hundred

dred pounds a-year, and made him one of his chaplains; from an antiquated notion, that good ſchoolmaſters ought to be encouraged in every nation profeſſing civility and religion. Yet his Excellency did not venture to make this bold ſtep without ſtrong recommendations from perſons of undoubted principles fitted to the times; who thought themſelves bound in juſtice, honour, and gratitude to do the Doctor a good office, in return for the care he had taken of their children, or thoſe of their friends. Yet the cataſtrophe was terrible; for the Doctor, in the height of his felicity and gratitude, going down to take poſſeſſion of his pariſh, and furniſhed with a few led ſermons, whereof as it is to be ſuppoſed, the number was very ſmall, having never ſerved a cure in the church; he ſtopt at Cork to attend on his biſhop; and going to church on the Sunday following, was, according to the uſual civility of country-clergymen, invited by the miniſter of the pariſh to ſupply the pulpit. It happened to be the firſt of Auguſt; and the firſt of Auguſt happened that year to light upon a Sunday: and it happened that the Doctor's text was in theſe words: *Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof**: and laſtly, it happened, that ſome one perſon in the congregation, whoſe loyalty made him watchful upon every appearance of danger to his Majeſty's perſon and government, when ſervice was over, gave the alarm. Notice was immediately ſent up to town; and by the zeal of one man *of no large dimenſion of body or mind*, ſuch a clamour was raiſed, that we in Dublin could apprehend no leſs than an invaſion by the pretender, who muſt be landed on the ſouth. The reſult was, that the Doctor muſt be be ſtruck out of the chaplain's liſt, and appear no more at the caſtle; yet whether he

* The firſt of Auguſt is the anniverſary of the Hanoverian family's acceſſion to the crown of Great Britain.

were

were then, or be at this day, a Whig or a Tory, I think is a ſecret; only it is manifeſt, that he is a zealous Hanoverian, at leaſt in poetry, and a great admirer of the preſent royal family through all its branches. His friends likewiſe aſſert, that he had preached this ſermon often under the ſame text; that not having obſerved the words, till he was in the pulpit, and had opened his notes, as he is a perſon a little abſtracted, he wanted preſence of mind to change them: and that in the whole ſermon there was not a ſyllable relating to government or party, or to the ſubject of the day.

In this incident there ſeems to have been an union of events, that will probably never happen again to the end of the world; or is, at leaſt, like the grand conjunction in the heavens; which, I think, they ſay can arrive but once in twenty thouſand years.

The ſecond gentleman (if I am right in my chronology) who under the ſuſpicion of a Tory received ſome favour from his Excellency, is Mr. James Stopford; very ſtrongly recommended by the moſt eminent Whig in England on the account of his learning, and virtue, and other accompliſhments. He had paſſed the greateſt part of his youth in cloſe ſtudy, or in travelling; and was either not at home, or not at leiſure to trouble his thoughts about party; which I allow to be a great omiſſion, although I cannot honeſtly place him in the liſt of Tories; and therefore think his Excellency may be fairly acquitted for making him vicar of Finglas, worth about one hundred pounds a-year.

The third is Dr. Patrick Delany. This divine lies under ſome diſadvantage; having in his youth received many civilities from a certain perſon *, then in a very high ſtation here; for which reaſon, I

* Sir Conſtantine Phipps, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, when Queen Anne died.

doubt the Doctor never drank his confusion since, and what makes the matter desperate, it is now too late; unless our inquisitors will be content with drinking confusion to his memory. The aforesaid eminent person, who was a judge of all merit, except that of party, distinguished the Doctor among other juniors in our university for his learning, virtue, discretion, and good sense. But the Doctor was then in too good a situation at his college to hope or endeavour at a better establishment from one who had no power to give it him.

Upon the present Lord Lieutenant's coming over, the Doctor was named to his Excellency by a friend * among other clergy of distinction, as persons whose characters it was proper his Excellency should know; and by the truth of which the giver would be content to stand or fall in his Excellency's opinion; since not one of those persons were in particular friendship with the gentleman who gave in their names. By this and some other incidents, particularly the recommendation of the late Archbishop of Dublin, the Doctor became known to his Excellency, whose fatal turn of mind towards heathenish and outlandish books and languages, finding, as I conceive, a like disposition in the Doctor, was the cause of his becoming so domestic, as we are told he is, at the castle of Dublin.

Three or four years ago the Doctor, grown weary of an academic life, for some reasons best known to the managers of the discipline in that learned society, (which it may not be for their honour to mention), resolved to leave it; although, by the benefit of the pupils, and his senior fellowship, with all its perquisites, he received every year between nine hundred and a thousand pounds. And a small northern living, in the university's donation, of somewhat better than one hundred pounds

* The Author.

a-year

a-year falling at the ſame time with the chancellor-ſhip of Chriſt-church, to about equal the value, in the gift of his Excellency; the Doctor ventured into the world in a very ſcanty condition; having ſquandered away all his annual income in a manner, which, although perhaps proper enough for a clergyman without a family, will not be for the advantage of his character to diſcover either on the exchange, or at a banker's ſhop.

About two months ago, his Excellency gave the Doctor a Prebend in St. Patrick's cathedral; which, being of near the ſame value with either of the two former, will add a third part to his revenues, after he ſhall have paid the great incumbrances upon it: ſo that he may now be ſaid to poſſeſs of church-preferments in ſcattered tithes three hundred pounds a-year; inſtead of the like ſum of infallible rents from a ſenior fellowſhip, with the offices annexed; beſide the advantage of a free lodging a great number of pupils, and ſome other eaſements.

But ſince the Doctor hath not in any of his writings, his ſermons, his actions his diſcourſe, or his company, diſcovered one ſingle principle of either Whig or Tory; and that the Lord Lieutenant ſtill continues to admit him; I ſhall boldly pronounce him ONE OF US: but, like a new free-maſon, who hath not yet learned all the dialect of the myſtery. Neither can he juſtly be accuſed of any Tory doctrines; except perhaps ſome among thoſe few with which that wicked party was charged during the height of their power, but have been ſince transferred for the moſt ſolid reaſons, to the whole body of our firmeſt friends.

I have now done with the clergy: and upon the ſtricteſt examination have not been able to find above one of that order, againſt whom any party-ſuſpicion can lie; I mean the unfortunate gentleman Doctor Sheridan, who by mere chance-medley, ſhot his own fortune dead with a ſingle text.

As to the laity, I can hear but one perſon of the Tory ſtamp, who ſince the beginning of his Excellency's government did ever receive any ſolid mark of his favour: I mean Sir Arthur Acheſon, reported to be an acknowledged Tory; and, what is almoſt as bad, a ſcholar into the bargain. It is whiſpered about, as a certain truth, that this gentleman is to have a grant of a certain barrack * upon his eſtate within two miles of his own houſe; for which the crown is to be his tenant, at the rent of ſixty pounds *per annum*; he being only at the expenſe of five hundred pounds to put the houſe in repair, build ſtables, and other neceſſaries. I will place this invidious mark of beneficence conferred on a Tory in a fair light, by computing the coſts and neceſſary defalcations: after which it may be ſeen how much Sir Arthur will be annually a clear gainer by the public; notwithſtanding his unfortunate principles, and his knowledge in Greek and Latin.

For repairs, *&c.* 500 l. the intereſt thereof, *per annum*, - - -	30 0 0
For all manner of poultry to furniſh the troopers, but which the ſaid troopers muſt be at the labour of catching, valued *per ann.* - -	5 0 0
For ſtraggling ſheep, - -	8 0 0
For game deſtroyed five miles round -	6 0 0
	49 0 0
Rent paid to Sir Arthur, - -	60 0 0
Deduct - - -	49 0 0
Remains clear, - -	11 0 0

* See a poem upon this incident, intitled, *The grand queſtion debated, &c.*

Thus

Thus, if Sir Arthur Acheſon ſhall have the good fortune to obtain a grant of this barrack, he will receive neat profit annually from the crown ELEVEN pounds Sterling to help him in entertaining the officer and making proviſions for his younger children.

It is true, there is another advantage to be expected, which may fully compenſate the loſs of cattle and poultry; by multiplying the breed of mankind, and particularly that of good proteſtants, in a part of the kingdom half depopulated by the wild humour among the farmers there of leaving their country. But I am not ſo ſkilful in arithmetic as to compute the value.

I have reckoned one *per cent.* below the legal intereſt for the money that Sir Arthur muſt expend; and valued the damage in the other articles very moderately. However, I am confident he may with good management be a ſaver at leaſt; which is a prodigious inſtance of moderation in our friends towards a profeſſed Tory: whatever merit he may pretend by the unwillingneſs he hath ſhewn to make his Excellency uneaſy in his adminiſtration.

Thus I have, with the utmoſt impartiality, collected every ſingle favour (further than perſonal civilities) conferred by his Excellency on Tories, and reputed Tories, ſince his firſt arrival hither to this 30th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1730, giving all allowance poſſible to the arguments on the other ſide of the queſtion: and the account will ſtand thus.

Diſpoſed of preferments and employments to Tories, or reputed Tories, by his Excellency John Lord Carteret, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in about the ſpace of ſix years:

To Doctor Thomas Sheridan, in a rectory near Kinsale, *per annum*,	100 0 0
To Sir Arthur Acheson, baronet, a barrack, *per ann.* - -	11 0 0
	111 0 0

Give me leave now to compute in gross the value of the favours done by his Excellency to the true friends of their king and country, and of the Protestant religion.

It is to be remembered, that although his Excellency cannot be properly said to bestow bishoprics, commands in the army, the place of a judge, or commissioner in the revenue, and some others; yet they are for the most part disposed upon his recommendation, except where the persons are immediately sent from England by their interest at court; for which I have allowed great defalcations in the following accounts. And it is remarkable, that the only considerable station conferred on a Tory since his present Excellency's government was of this latter kind.

And indeed it is but too notorious, that in a neighbouring nation (where this dangerous denomination of men is incomparably more numerous, more powerful, and of consequence more formidable) real Tories can often with much less difficulty obtain very high favours from the government, than their reputed brethren can arrive to the lowest in ours. I observe this, with all possible submission to the wisdom of their policy; which, however, will not, I believe, dispute the praise of vigilance with ours.

WHIG account.

To perſons promoted to biſhoprics, or removed to more beneficial ones, computed *per ann.*	10,050	0	0
To civil employments	9030	0	0
To military commands	8436	0	0
	27,516	0	0

TORY account.

To Tories,	111	0	0
Balance	27,405	0	0

I ſhall conclude with this obſervation, that as I think, the Tories have ſufficient reaſon to be fully ſatisfied with the ſhare of truſt, power, and employments, which they poſſeſs under the lenity of the preſent government; ſo I do not find how his Excellency can be juſtly cenſured for favouring none but high-church, high-fliers, termagants, Laudiſts, Sacheverellians, tip top-gallon-men, Jacobites, tantivies Anti-hanoverians, friends to Popery and the Pretender and to abitrary power. diſobligers of England, breakers of DEPENDENCY, inflamers of quarrels between the two nations, public incendiaries, enemies to the king and kingdoms, haters of TRUE Poteſtants, laurel-men, Anniſts, complainer's of the nation's poverty, Ormondians, iconoclaſts, anti-glorious-memoriſts, anti-revolutioners, white-roſaliſts, tenth-a-junians, and the like, when, by a fair ſtate of the account, the balance, I conceive, ſeems to lie on the other ſide.

CONSIDERATIONS upon two BILLS sent down from the Right Honourable the house of Lords to the Honourable the house of Commons in Ireland, relating to the Clergy *.

Written in the year 1731.

I Have often for above a month past desired some few clergymen, who are pleased to visit me, that they would procure an extract of two bills brought into the council by some of the bishops, and both of them since passed in the house of Lords: but I could never obtain what I desired, whether by the forgetfulness or negligence of those whom I employed, or the difficulty of the thing itself. Therefore, if I shall happen to mistake in any fact of consequence, I desire my remarks upon it may pass for nothing; for my information is no better, than what I received in words from several divines, who seemed to agree with each other. I have not the honour to be acquainted with any one single prelate of the kingdom; and am a stranger to their

* In the year 1731, a bill was brought into the house of Lords, by a great majority of the Right Reverend the bishops, for enabling them to divide the livings of the inferior clergy; which bill was approved of in the privy council of Ireland, and passed by the Lords in parliament. It was afterwards sent to the house of Commons for their approbation; but was rejected by them with a great majority. The author of the following considerations, who hath always been the best friend to the inferior clergy of the church of England, as may be seen by many parts of his writings, opposed this pernicious project with great success; which, if it had passed into a law, would have been of the worst consequence to this nation. *Dub. edit.* 1738.

characters,

characters, further than as common fame reports them, which is not to be depended on: therefore I cannot be supposed to act upon a principle of resentment. I esteem their function (if I may be allowed to say so without offence) as truly apostolical, and absolutely necessary to the perfection of a Christian church.

There are no qualities more incident to the frailty and corruptions of humankind, than an indifference or insensibility for other mens sufferings, and a sudden forgetfulness of their own former humble state, when they rise in the world. These two dispositions have not, I think, any where so strongly exerted themselves, as in the order of bishops with regard to the inferior clergy; for which I can find no reasonss, but such as naturally should seem to operate a quite contrary way. The maintenance of the clergy throughout the kingdom is precarious and uncertain, collected from a most miserable race of beggarly farmers; at whose mercy every minister lies to be defrauded. His office, as rector or vicar, if it be duly executed, is very laborious. As soon as he is promoted to a bishopric, the scene is entirely and happily changed; his revenues are large, and as surely paid as those of the King; his whole business is once a-year to receive the attenddance, the submission, and the proxy-money of all his clergy, in whatever part of the diocese he shall please to think most convenient for himself. Neither is his personal presence necessary, for the business may be done by a vicar-general. The fatigue of ordination is just what the bishops please to make it; and as matters have been for some time, and probably remain, the fewer odinations the better. The rest of their visible office consists in the honour of attending parliaments and councils, and bestowing preferments in their own gift; in which last employment, and in their spiritual and temporal courts, the labour falls to their vicars-general, secretaries,

taries, proctors, apparitors, seneschals, and the like. Now, I say, in so quick a change, whereby their brethren in a few days are become their subjects, it would be reasonable at least to hope that the labour, confinement, and subjection, from which they have so lately escaped, like a bird out of the snare of the fowler, might a little incline them to the condition of those who were but last week their equals, probably their companions or their friends, and possibly as reasonable expectants. There is a known story of Colonel Tidcomb, who, while he continued a subaltern officer, was every day complaining against the pride, oppression, and hard treatment of colonels towards their officers; yet in a very few minutes after he had received his commission for a regiment, walking with a friend on the Mall, he confessed that the spirit of colonelship was coming fast upon him, which spirit is said to have daily increased to the hour of his death.

It is true, the clergy of this kingdom, who are promoted to bishoprics, have always some great advantages; either that of rich deaneries, opulent and multiplied rectories and dignities, strong alliances by birth or marriage, fortified by a superlative degree of zeal and loyalty: but however, they were all at first no more than young beginners; and before their great promotion were known by their plain Christian names among their old companions, the middling rate of clergymen; nor could therefore be strangers to their condition, or with any good grace forget it so soon, as it hath too often happened.

I confess, I do not remember to have observed any body of men acting with so little concert, as our clergy have done in a point where their opinions appeared to be unanimous: a point wherein their whole temporal support was concerned, as well as their power of serving God and his church in their spiritual functions. This hath been imputed to their

heir fear of disobliging, or hopes of further favours upon compliance; because it was observed, hat some who appeared at first with the greatest eal, thought fit suddenly to absent themselves from he usual meetings; yet we know, what expert solicitors the Quakers, the Dissenters, and even the Papists have sometimes found to drive a point of dvantage, or prevent an impending evil.

I have not seen any extract from the two bills introduced by the bishops into the privy council; where the clergy, upon some failure in favour, or through the timorousness of many among their brethren, were refused to be heard by the council. It seems, these bills were both returned, agreed to by the King and council in England, and the house of Lords hath, with great expedition, passed them both; and it is said, they are immediately to be sent down to the Commons for their consent.

The particulars, as they have been imperfectly reported to me, are as follows.

By one of the bills, the bishops have power to oblige the country clergy to build a mansion-house upon whatever part of their glebes their Lordships shall command; and if the living be above 50*l.* a-year, the minister is bound to build after three years a house that shall cost one year and a half's rent of his income. For instance, if a clergyman with a wife and seven children gets a living of 55*l. per annum*, he must after three years build a house that shall cost 77 *l.* 10 s. and must support his family, during the time the bishop shall appoint for the building of it, with the remainder. But, if the living be under 50 *l.* a year, the minister shall be allowed 100 *l.* out of the first fruits.

But there is said to be one circumstance a little extraordinary; that if there be a single spot in the glebe more barren, more marshy, more exposed to the winds, more distant from the church or skeleton of a church, or from any conveniency of building; the rector,

rector, or vicar may be obliged by the caprice or pique of the bishop, to build, under pain of sequestration, (an office which ever falls into the most knavish hands), upon whatever point his Lordship shall command; although the farmers have not paid one quarter of his dues.

I believe, under the present distresses of the kingdom, (which inevitably without a miracle must increase for ever), there are not ten country-clergymen in Ireland, reputed to possess a parish of 100 *l. per annum*, who for some years past have actually received 60 *l.* and that with the utmost difficulty and vexation. I am therefore at a loss, what kind of valuators the bishops will make use of; and whether the starving vicar shall be forced to build his house with the money he never received.

The other bill, which passed in two days after the former, is said to concern the division of parishes into as many parcels as the bishops shall think fit, only leaving 300 *l.* a-year to the mother church; which 300 *l.* by another act passed some years ago, they can divide likewise, and crumble as low as their will and pleasure will dispose them. So that instead of six hundred clergymen, which, I think, is the usual computation, we may have in a small compass of years almost as many thousands to live with decency and comfort, provide for their children, be charitable to the poor, and maintain hospitality.

But it is very reasonable to hope, and heartily to be wished by all those who have the least regard to our holy religion as hitherto established, or to a learned, pious, diligent, conversible clergyman, or even to common humanity, that the Honourable House of Commons will, in their great wisdom, justice, and tenderness to innocent men, consider these bills in another light. It is said, they well know this kingdom not to be so overstocked with neighbouring gentry, but a discreet learned clergyman, with a competency fit for one of his education

tion, may be an entertaining, a useful, and sometimes a necessary companion: That, although such a clergyman may not be able constantly to find beef and wine for his own family, yet he may be allowed sometimes to afford both to a neighbour without distressing himself; and the rather, because he may expect at least as good a return. It will probably be considered, that in many desolate parts there may not be always a sufficient number of persons considerable enough to be trusted with commissions of the peace, which several of the clergy now supply much better, than a little, hedge, contemptible, illiterate vicar from twenty to fifty pounds a-year, the son of a weaver, pedlar, tailor, or miller, can be presumed to do.

The landlords and farmers by this scheme can find no profit, but will certainly be losers. For instance, if the large northern livings be split into a dozen parishes or more, it will be very necessary for the little threadbare gownman, with his wife, his proctor, and every child who can crawl, to watch the fields at harvest-time for fear of losing a single sheaf, which he could not afford under peril of a day's starving: for, according to the Scotch proverb, "A hungry louse bites sore." This would of necessity breed an infinite number of wrangles and litigious suits in the spiritual courts; and put the wretched pastor at perpetual variance with his whole parish. But, as they have hitherto stood, a clergyman established in a competent living is not under the necessity of being so sharp, vigilant, and exacting. On the contrary, it is well known and allowed, that the clergy round the kingdom think themselves well treated, if they lose only one single third of their legal demands.

The Honourable house may perhaps be inclined to conceive, that my Lords the Bishops enjoy as ample a power, both spiritual and temporal, as will fully suffice to answer every branch of their office;

that they want no laws to regulate the conduct of thoſe clergymen over whom they preſide; that, if non-reſiſtance be a grievance, it is the patron's fault, who makes not a better choice, or cauſed the plurality. That, if the general impartial character of perſons choſen into the church had been more regarded, and the motive of party, alliance, kindred, flatterers, ill judgment, or perſonal favour regarded leſs, there would be fewer complaints of non-reſidence, want of care, blameable behaviour, or any other part of miſconduct; not to mention ignorance and ſtupidity.

I could name certain gentlemen of the gown, whoſe aukward, ſpruce, prim, ſneering, and ſmirking countenances, the very tone of their voices, and an ungainly ſtrut in their walk, without one ſingle talent for any one office, have contrived to get good preferment by the mere force of flattery and cringing: for which two virtues (the only two virtues they pretend to) they were, however, utterly unqualified: and whom, if I were in power, although they were my nephews, or had married my nieces, I could never in point of good conſcience or honour have recommended to a curacy in Connaught.

The Honourable Houſe of Commons may likewiſe perhaps conſider, that the gentry of this kingdom differ from all others upon earth, being leſs capable of employments in their own country, than any others who come from abroad; and that moſt of them have little expectation of providing for their younger children otherwiſe than by the church, in which there might be ſome hopes of getting a tolerable maintenance. For after the patrons ſhould have ſettled their ſons, their nephews, their nieces, their dependents, and their followers invited over from the other ſide, there would ſtill remain an overplus of ſmaller church-preferments to be given to ſuch clergy of the nation, who ſhall have their

quantum

quantum of whatever merit may be then in fashion. But by these bills they will be all as absolutely excluded, as if they had passed under the denomination of Tories; unless they can be contented at the utmost with 50 *l.* a-year; which by the difficulty of collecting tithes in Ireland, and the daily increasing miseries of the people, will hardly rise to half that sum.

It is observed, that the divines sent over hither to govern this church have not seemed to consider the difference between both kingdoms with respect to the inferior clergy. As to themselves indeed, they find a large revenue in lands let at one quarter value, which consequently must be paid while there is a penny left among us; and the public distress so little affects their interests, that their fines are now higher than ever: they content themselves to suppose, that whatever a parish is said to be worth, comes all into the parsons's pocket.

The poverty of great numbers among the clergy of England hath been the continual complaint of all men, who wish well to the church, and many schemes have been thought on to redress it; yet an English vicar of 40 *l.* a-year, lives much more comfortably than one of double the value in Ireland. His farmers generally speaking, are able and willing to pay him his full dues; he hath a decent church of ancient standing, filled every Lord's day with a large congregation of plain people, well clad, and behaving themselves as if they believed in GOD and CHRIST. He hath a house and barn in repair, a field or two to graze his cows, with a garden and orchard. No guest expects more from him than a pot of ale: he lives like an honest plain farmer, as his wife is dressed but little better than goody. He is sometimes graciously invited by the 'squire, where he sits at an humble distance: if he gets the love of his people, they often make him little useful presents: he is happy by being born to no-

higher expectation; for he is usually the son of some ordinary tradesman, or middling farmer. His learning is much of a size with his birth and education; no more of either, than what a poor hungry servitor can be expected to bring with him from his college. It would be tedious to shew the reverse of all this in our distant poorer parishes through most parts of Ireland, wherein every reader may make the comparison.

Lastly, the Honourable House of Commons may consider, whether the scheme of multiplying beggarly clergymen through the whole kingdom, who must all have votes for chusing parliament-men, (provided they can prove their freeholds to be worth 40 *s. per annum, ultra repriſas*), may not, by their numbers, have great influence upon elections; being entirely under the dependence of their bishops. For by a moderate computation, after all the divisions and subdivisions of parishes, that my Lords the Bishops have power to make by their new laws, there will, as soon as the present set of clergy goes off, be raised an army of ecclesiastical militants able enough for any kind of service, except that of the altar.

I am indeed in some concern about a fund for building a thousand or two churches, wherein these probationers may read their wall-lectures; and begin to doubt they must be contented with barns; which barns will be one great advancing step towards an accommodation with our true Protestant brethren, the Dissenters.

The scheme of encouraging clergymen to build houses by dividing a living of 500 *l.* a-year into ten parts is a contrivance, the meaning whereof hath got on the wrong side of my comprehension; unless it may be argued; that bishops build no houses, because they are so rich; and therefore the inferior clergy will certainly build, if you reduce them to beggary. But I knew a very rich man of quality

in

in England, who could never be perſuaded to keep a ſervant out of livery; becauſe ſuch ſervants would be expenſive, and apt in time to look like gentlemen; whereas the others were ready to ſubmit to the baſeſt offices, and at a cheaper pennyworth might increaſe his retinue.

I hear, it is the opinion of many wiſe men, that before theſe bills paſs both houſes, they ſhould be ſent back to England with the following clauſes inſerted.

Firſt, that whereas there may be about a dozen double biſhoprics in Ireland, thoſe biſhoprics ſhould be ſplit and given to different perſons; and thoſe of a ſingle denomination be alſo divided into two, three, or four parts, as occaſion ſhall require; otherwiſe there may be a queſtion ſtarted, Whether twenty-two prelates can effectually extend their paternal care and unlimited power, for the protection and correction of ſo great a number of ſpiritual ſubjects. But this propoſal will meet with ſuch furious objections, that I ſhall not inſiſt upon it: for I well remember to have read, what a terrible fright the frogs were in, upon a report, that the ſun was going to marry.

Another clauſe ſhould be, that none of theſe twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty pounders may be ſuffered to marry under the penalty of immediate deprivation; their marriages declared null, and their children baſtards: for ſome deſponding people take the kingdom to be in no condition of encouraging ſo numerous a breed of beggars.

A third clauſe will be neceſſary, that theſe humble gentry ſhould be abſolutely diſqualified from giving votes in elections for parliament-men.

Others add a fourth; which is a clauſe of indulgence, that theſe reduced divines may be permitted to follow any lawful ways of living, which will not call them too often or too far from their ſpiritual offices: (for, unleſs I miſapprehend, they are ſup-

poſed to have epiſcopal ordination). For example, they may be lappers of linen, bailiffs of the manor; they may let blood, or apply plaiſters for three miles round: they may get a diſpenſation to hold the clerkſhip and ſextonſhip of their own pariſh *in commendam*. Their wives and daughters may make ſhirts for the neighbourhood; or, if a barrack be near, for the ſoldiers: in linen countries they may card and ſpin, and keep a few looms in the houſe: they may let lodgings, and ſell a pot of ale without doors, but none at home, unleſs to ſober company, and at regular hours. It is by ſome thought a little hard, that in an affair of the laſt conſequence to the very being of the clergy in the points of liberty and property, as well as in their abilities to perform their duty, this whole reverend body, who are the eſtabliſhed inſtructors of the nation in Chriſtianity and moral virtues, and are the only perſons concerned, ſhould be the ſole perſons not conſulted. Let any ſcholar ſhew the like precedent in Chriſtendom for twelve hundred years paſt. An act of parliament for ſettling or ſelling an eſtate in a private family is never paſſed, until all parties give conſent. But in the preſent caſe, the whole body of the clergy is, as themſelves apprehend, determined to utter ruin without once expecting or aſking their opinion; and this by a ſcheme contrived only by one part of the convocation, while the other part which hath been choſen in the uſual forms, wants only the regal permiſſion to aſſemble, and conſult about the affairs of the church, as their predeceſſors have always done in former ages; where it is preſumed, the lower houſe hath a power of propoſing canons and a negative voice, as well as the upper. And God forbid (ſay theſe objectors) that there ſhould be a real ſeparate intereſt between the biſhops and clergy, any more than there is between a man and his wife, a king and his people, or CHRIST and his church.

It

It ſeems there is a proviſion in the bill, that no pariſh ſhall be cut into ſcraps without the conſent of ſeveral perſons, who can be no ſufferers in the matter; but I cannot find that the clergy lay much weight on this caution; becauſe they argue, that the very perſons from whom theſe bills took their riſe, will have the greateſt ſhare in the deciſion.

I do not by any means conceive the crying ſin of the clergy in this kingdom to be that of non-reſidence. I am ſure, it is many degrees leſs ſo here than in England; unleſs the poſſeſſion of pluralities may paſs under that name; and if this be a fault, it is well known to whom it muſt be imputed: I believe upon a fair inquiry (and I hear an inquiry is to be made) they will appear to be moſt pardonably few; eſpecially, conſidering how many pariſhes have not an inch of glebe, and how difficult it is upon any reaſonable terms to find a place of habitation. And therefore, God knows, whether my Lords the Biſhops will be ſoon able to convince the clergy, or thoſe who have any regard for that venerable body, that the chief motive in their Lordſhips minds by procuring theſe bills was to prevent the ſin of non-reſidence; while the univerſal opinion of almoſt every clergyman in the kingdom, without diſtinction of party taking in even thoſe who are not likely to be ſufferers, ſtands directly againſt them.

If ſome livings in the north may be juſtly thought too large a compaſs of land, which makes it inconvenient for the remoteſt inhabitants to attend the ſervice of the church, which in ſome inſtances may be true, no reaſonable clergyman would oppoſe a proper remedy by particular acts of parliament.

Thus, for inſtance, the deanery of Down, a country deanery, I think, without a cathedral, depending

pending wholly upon an union of parishes joined together in a time when the land lay waste and thinly inhabited; since those circumstances are so prodigiously changed for the better, may properly be lessened, leaving a decent competency to the Dean, and placing rectories in the remaining churches, which are now served only by stipendiary curates.

The case may be probably the same in other parts; and such a proceeding discreetly managed would be truly for the good of the church.

For it is to be observed, that the dean and chapter lands, which, in England, were all seized under the fanatic usurpation, are things unknown in Ireland, having been long ravished from the church by a succession of confusions, and tithes applied in their stead to support that ecclesiastical dignity.

The late * Archbishop of Dublin had a very different way of encouraging the clergy of his diocese to residence: when a lease had run out seven years or more, he stipulated with the tenant to resign up twenty or thirty acres to the minister of the parish where it lay convenient, without lessening his former rent; and with no great abatement of the fine; and this he did in the parts near Dublin, where land is at the highest rates, leaving a small chiefry for the minister to pay, hardly a sixth part of the value. I doubt not, that almost every bishop in the kingdom may do the same generous act with less damage to their fees, than his late Grace of Dublin; much of whose lands were out in fee-farms, or leases for lives; and I am sorry that the good example of such a prelate hath not been followed.

But a great majority of the clergy's friends cannot hitherto reconcile themselves to this project;

* The Right Reverend Dr William King.

which

which they call a levelling principle, that must inevitably root out the seeds of all honest emulation, the legal parent of the greatest virtue and most generous actions among men; but which, in the general opinion, (for I do not pretend to offer my own), will never more have room to exert itself in the breast of any clergyman whom this kingdom shall produce.

But whether the consequences of these bills may, by the virtues and frailties of future bishops sent over hither to rule the church, terminate in good or evil, I shall not presume to determine, since God can work the former out of the latter. However, one thing I can venture to assert; that from the earliest ages of Christianity to the minute I am now writing, there never was a precedent of such a proceeding, much less was it to be feared, hoped, or apprehended from such hands in any Christian country; and so it may pass for more than a phenix; because it hath risen without any assistance from the ashes of its fire.

The appearance of so many Dissenters at the hearing of this cause is what, I am told, hath not been charged to the account of their prudence or moderation; because that action hath been censured as a mark of triumph and insult before the victory is complete: since nither of these bills hath yet passed the house of Commons, and some are pleased to think it not impossible that they may be rejected *. Neither do I hear, that there is an enacting clause in either of the bills to apply any part of the divided or subdivided tithes towards increasing the stipends of the sectaries. So that these gentlemen seem to be gratified like him, who, after having been kicked down stairs, took comfort when he saw his friend kicked down after him.

* They were rejected in the house of Commons by a great majority.

I have

I have heard many more objections againſt ſeveral particulars of both theſe bills; but they are of ſo high a nature, and carry ſuch dreadful *innuendos*, that I dare not mention them, reſolving to give no offence, becauſe I well know how obnoxious I have long been (although I conceive without any fault of my own) to the zeal and principles of thoſe who place all difference in opinion concerning public matters to the ſcore of diſaffection; whereof I am at leaſt as innocent as the loudeſt of my detractors.

Dublin, Feb. 24.
1731-2.

A PRO-

A PROPOSAL for an Act of Parliament, to pay off the Debt of the Nation, without taxing the subject; by which the number of landed Gentry will be considerably increased, and no Person will be the poorer, or contribute one Farthing to the Charge *.

Written in the Year 1732.

THE debts contracted some years past for the service and safety of the nation are grown so great, that under our present distressed condition by the want of trade, the great remittances to pay absentees, regiments serving abroad, and many other drains of money well enough known and felt, the kingdoms seems altogether unable to discharge them by the common methods of payment: and either a poll or land tax would be too odious to think of, especially the latter; because the lands, which have been let for these ten or dozen years past, were raised so high, that the owner can at present hardly receive any rent at all. For it is the usual practice of an Irish tenant, rather than want land, to offer more for a farm than he knows he can be ever able to pay; and in that case he grows desperate, and pays nothing at all. So that a land-tax upon a racked estate would be a burthen wholly insupportable.

The question will then be, How these national

* The reader will perceive the following treatise to be altogether ironical.

debts

debts can be paid; and how I can make good the ſeveral particulars of my propoſal? which I ſhall now lay open to the public?

The revenues of their Graces and Lordſhips the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of this kingdom (excluding the fines) do amount by a moderate computation to 36,800 *l. per annum*, I mean the rents which the biſhops receive from their tenants. But the real value of thoſe lands at a full rent, taking the ſeveral fees one with another, is reckoned to be at leaſt three fourths more; ſo that, multiplying 36,800 *l.* by 4, the full rent of all the biſhops lands will amount to 147,200 *l. per annum*, from which ſubtracting the preſent rent received by their Lordſhips, that is, 36,800 *l.* the profits of the lands received by the firſt and ſecond tenants (who both have great bargains) will riſe to the ſum of 110,400 *l. per annum*; which lands, if they were to be ſold at twenty-two years purchaſe, would raiſe a ſum of 2,428,800 *l.* reſerving to the biſhops their preſent rents, only excluding fines.

Of this ſum, I propoſe, that out of the one half, which amounts to 1,214,400 *l.* ſo much be applied, as will entirely diſcharge the debts of the nation; and the remainder be laid up in the treaſury to ſupply contingencies, as well as to diſcharge ſome of our heavy taxes, until the kingdom ſhall be in a better condition.

But whereas the preſent ſet of biſhops would be great loſers by this ſcheme for want of their fines; which would be hard treatment to ſuch religious, loyal, and deſerving perſonages; I have therefore ſet apart the other half to ſupply that defect, which it will more than ſufficiently do.

A biſhop's leaſe for the full term is reckoned to be worth eleven years purchaſe; but if we take the biſhops round, I ſuppoſe there may be four years of each leaſe elapſed; and many of the biſhops being well ſtriken in years, I cannot think their lives

lives round to be worth more than ſeven years purchaſe; ſo that the purchaſers may very well afford fifteen years purchaſe for the reverſion, eſpecially by one great additional advantage, which I ſhall ſoon mention.

This ſum of 2,428,800 *l.* muſt likewiſe be ſunk very conſiderably; becauſe the lands are to be ſold only at fifteen years purchaſe, and this leſſens the ſum to about 1,656,000 *l.*; of which I propoſe twelve hundred thouſand pounds to be applied partly for the payment of the national debt, and partly as a fund for future exigencies; and the remaining 456,000 *l.* I propoſe as a fund for paying the preſent ſet of biſhops their fines; which it will abundantly do, and a great part remain as an addition to the public ſtock.

Although the biſhops round do not in reality receive three fines apiece, which take up 21 years, yet I allow it to be ſo; but then I will ſuppoſe them to take but one year's rent in recompenſe of giving them ſo large a term of life; and thus multiplying 36,800 by 3, the product will be only 110,400 *l.* ſo that above three fourths will remain to be applied to public uſe.

If I have made wrong computations, I hope to be excuſed as a ſtranger to the kingdom; which I never ſaw till I was called to an employment, and yet where I intend to paſs the reſt of my days; but I took care to get the beſt informations I could, and from the moſt proper perſons; however the miſtakes I may have been guilty of will very little affect the main of my propoſal; although they ſhould cauſe a difference of one hundred thouſand pounds more or leſs.

The fines are only to be paid to the biſhop during his incumbency in the ſame ſee: if he change it for a better, the purchaſers of the vacant ſee lands are to come immediately into poſſeſſion of the ſee he hath left; and both the biſhop who is removed,

and he who comes into his place, are to have no more fines; for the removed biſhop will find his account by a larger revenue; and the other ſee will find candidates enough. For the law-maxim will here have place, *Caveat emptor*; I mean, the perſons who ſucceed may chuſe whether they will accept or no.

As to the purchaſers, they will probably be tenants to the ſee, who are already in poſſeſſion, and can afford to give more than any other bidder.

I will further explain myſelf. If a perſon already a biſhop be removed into a richer ſee, he muſt be content with the bare revenues without any fines; and ſo muſt he who comes into a biſhopric vacant by death: and this will bring the matter ſooner to bear; which if the crown ſhall think fit to countenance, will ſoon change the preſent ſet of biſhops; and conſequently encourage purchaſers of their lands. For example: If a primate ſhould die, and the gradation be wiſely made, almoſt the whole ſet of biſhops might be changed in a month, each to his great advantage, although no fines were to be got; and thereby ſave a great part of that ſum which I have appropriated towards ſupplying the deficiency of fines.

I have valued the biſhops lands two years purchaſe above the uſual computed rate, becauſe thoſe lands will have a ſanction from the King and council in England, and be confirmed by an act of parliament here: beſides, it is well known, that higher prices are given every day for worſe lands, at the remoteſt diſtances, and at rack-rents, which I take to be occaſioned by want of trade: when there are few borrowers, and the little money in private hands lying dead, there is no other way to diſpoſe of it, but in buying of land; which conſequently makes the owners hold it ſo high.

Beſides paying the nation's debts, the ſale of theſe lands would have many other good effects upon the nation.

nation. It will conſiderably increaſe the number of gentry, where the biſhop's tenants are not able or willing to purchaſe; for the lands will afford an hundred gentlemen a good revenue to each: ſeveral perſons from England will probably be glad to come over hither, and be the buyers, rather than give thirty years purchaſe at home under the loads of taxes for the public and the poor, as well as repairs; by which means much money may be brought among us; and probably ſome of the purchaſers themſelves may be content to live cheap in a worſe country, rather than be at the charge of exchange and agencies; and perhaps of non-ſolvencies in abſence, if they let their lands too high.

This propoſal will alſo multiply farmers, when the purchaſers will have lands in their own power to give long and eaſy leaſes to induſtrious huſbandmen.

I have allowed ſome biſhoprics, of equal income, to be of more or leſs value to the purchaſer, according as they are circumſtanced. For inſtance: The lands of the primacy and ſome other ſees are let ſo low, that they hardly pay a fifth penny of the real value to the biſhop, and there the fines are the greater. On the contrary, the ſees of Meath and Clonfert conſiſting, as I am told, much of tithes, thoſe tithes are annually let to the tenants without any fines. So the ſee of Dublin is ſaid to have many free farms which pay no fines; and ſome leaſes for lives, which pay very little, and not ſo ſoon nor ſo duly.

I cannot but be confident, that their Graces my Lords the Archbiſhops, and my Lords the Biſhops, will heartily join in this propoſal out of gratitude to his late and preſent Majeſty, the beſt of kings, who have beſtowed on them ſuch high and opulent ſtations; as well as in pity to this country, which is now become their own; whereby they will be inſtrumental towards paying the nation's debts, with-

out impoverishing themselves; enrich an hundred gentlemen as well as free them from dependency; and thus remove that envy, which is apt to fall upon their Graces and Lordships from considerable persons, whose birth and fortunes rather qualify them to be lords of manors, than servile dependents upon churchmen, however dignified or distinguished.

If I do not flatter myself, there could not be any law more popular than this. For the immediate tenants to bishops, being some of them persons of quality and good estates, and more of them grown up to be gentlemen by the profits of these very leases under a succession of bishops, think it a disgrace to be subject both to rents and fines at the pleasure of their landlords. Then the bulk of the tenants, especially the Dissenters, who are our true loyal Protestant brethren, look upon it both as an unnatural and iniquitous thing, that bishops should be owners of land at all, (wherein I beg to differ from them), being a point so contrary to the practice of the apostles, whose successors they are deemed to be; and who, although they were contented that land should be sold for the common use of the brethren, yet would not buy it themselves; but had it laid at their feet to be distributed to poor proselytes.

I will add one word more; that by such a wholesome law all the oppressions felt by under-tenants of church-leases, which are now laid on the bishops, would entirely be prevented, by their Graces and Lordships consenting to have their lands sold for payment of the nation's debts; reserving only the present rent for their own plentiful and honourable support.

I beg leave to add one particular; that when heads of a bills (as I find the style runs in this kingdom) shall be brought in for forming this proposal into a law, I should humbly offer, that there might

might be a power given to every biſhop, except thoſe who reſide in Dublin, for applying one hundred acres of profitable land, that lies neareſt his palace, as a demeſne for the convenience of his family.

I know very well that this ſcheme hath been much talked of for ſome time paſt, and is in the thoughts of many patriots; neither was it properly mine, although I fell readily into it, when it was firſt communicated to me.

Although I am almoſt a perfect ſtranger in this kingdom; yet ſince I have accepted an employment here of ſome conſequence as well as profit, I cannot but think myſelf in duty bound to conſult the intereſt of people, among whom I have been ſo well received. And if I can be any way inſtrumental towards contributing to reduce this excellent propoſal into a law, (which being not in the leaſt injurious to England will, I am confident, meet with no oppoſition from that ſide), my ſincere endeavours to ſerve this church and kingdom will be well rewarded.

An EXAMINATION of certain ABUSES, CORRUPTIONS, and ENORMITIES, in the city of DUBLIN.

Written in the year 1732.

NOthing is held more commendable in all great cities, especially the metropolis of a kingdom, than what the French call the *police*: by which word is meant the government thereof, to prevent the many disorders occasioned by great numbers of people and carriages, especially through narrow streets. In this government our famous city of Dublin is said to be very defective, and universally complained of. Many wholsome laws have been enacted to correct those abuses, but are ill executed; and many more are wanting; which I hope the united wisdom of the nation (whereof so many good effects have already appeared this session) will soon take into their profound consideration.

As I have been always watchful over the good of mine own country, and particularly for that of our renowned city, where (*absit invidia*) I had the honour to draw my first breath; I cannot have a minute's ease or patience to forbear enumerating some of the greatest enormities, abuses, and corruptions, spread almost through every part of Dublin; and propoſing such remedies, as I hope the legislature will approve of.

The narrow compass to which I have confined myself in this paper, will allow me only to touch the most important defects; and such as I think seem to require the most speedy redress.

And

And firſt, perhaps there was never known a wiſer inſtitution, than that of allowing certain perſons of both ſexes in large and populous cities to cry through the ſtreets many neceſſaries of life: it would be endleſs to recount the conveniencies which our city enjoys by this uſeful invention; and particularly ſtrangers forced hither by buſineſs, who reſide here but a ſhort time; for theſe, having uſually but little money, and being wholly ignorant of the town, might at an eaſy price purchaſe a tolerable dinner, if the ſeveral criers would pronounce the names of the goods they have to ſell in any tolerable language. And therefore, until our lawmakers ſhall think it proper to interpoſe ſo far as to make thoſe traders pronounce their words in ſuch terms, that a plain Chriſtian hearer may comprehend what is cried, I would adviſe all new comers to look out at their garret-windows, and there ſee whether the thing that is cried be *tripes* or *flummery*, *butter-milk* or *cow-heels*. For, as things are now managed, how is it poſſible for an honeſt countryman juſt arrived to find out what is meant; for inſtance, by the following words, with which his ears are conſtantly ſtunned twice a-day, *mugs, jugs, and porringers, up in the garret, and down in the cellar*: I ſay, how is it poſſible for any ſtranger to underſtand, that this jargon is meant as an invitation to buy a farthing's worth of milk for his breakfaſt or ſupper, unleſs his curioſity draws him to the window, or until his landlady ſhall inform him? I produce this only as one inſtance among a hundred much worſe, I mean, where the words make a ſound wholly inarticulate, which give ſo much diſturbance and ſo little information.

The affirmation ſolemnly made in the cry of herrings is directly againſt all truth and probability; *herrings alive, alive here*: the very proverb will convince us of this; for what is more frequent in ordinary ſpeech, than to ſay of ſome neighbour for whom

whom the paſſing bell rings, that *he is dead as a herring?* And pray how is it poſſible, that a herring, which, as philoſophers obſerve, cannot live longer than one minute three ſeconds and a half out of water, ſhould bear a voyage in open boats from Howth to Dublin, be toſſed into twenty hands, and preſerve its life in ſieves for ſeveral hours? nay, we have witneſſes ready to produce, that many thouſands of theſe herrings, ſo impudently aſſerted to be alive, have been a day and a night upon dry land. But this is not the worſt. What can we think of thoſe impious wretches, who dare in the face of the ſun vouch the very ſame affirmative of their ſalmon, and cry *ſalmon alive, alive?* whereas, if you call the woman who cries it, ſhe is not aſhamed to turn back her mantle, and ſhew you this individual ſalmon cut into a dozen pieces. I have given good advice to theſe infamous diſgracers of their ſex and calling, without the leaſt appearance of remorſe, and fully againſt the conviction of their own conſciences: I have mentioned this grievance to ſeveral of our pariſh miniſters; but all in vain; ſo that it muſt continue, until the government ſhall think fit to interpoſe.

There is another cry, which, from the ſtricteſt obſervation I can make, appears to be very modern, and it is that of *ſweethearts* *; and is plainly intended for a reflection upon the female ſex; as if there were at preſent ſo great a dearth of lovers, that the women, inſtead of receiving preſents from men, were now forced to offer money to purchaſe ſweet hearts. Neither am I ſure, that this cry doth not glance at ſome diſaffection againſt the government; inſinuating, that while ſo many of our troops are engaged in foreign ſervice, and ſuch a great number of our gallant officers conſtantly reſide in England, the ladies are forced to take up with

* A ſort of ſugar cakes in the ſhape of hearts.

parſons

parſons and attorneys: but this is a moſt unjuſt reflection, as may ſoon be proved by any perſon who frequents the caſtle, our public walks, our balls and aſſemblies; where the crouds of *tsupees* * were never known to ſwarm as they do at preſent.

There is a cry peculiar to this city, which I do not remember to have been uſed in London; or at leaſt, not in the ſame terms that it hath been practiſed by both parties, during each of their power, but very unjuſtly by the Tories. While theſe were at the helm, they grew daily more and more impatient to put all true Whigs and Hanoverians out of employments: to effect which, they hired certain ordinary fellows with large baſkets on their ſhoulders to call aloud at every houſe, *Dirt to carry out*; giving that denomination to our whole party; as if they would ſignify, that the kingdom could never be cleanſed, until we were ſwept from the earth like rubbiſh. But ſince that happy turn of times, when we were ſo miraculouſly preſerved by juſt an inch from Popery, ſlavery, maſſacre, and the pretender, I muſt own it is prudence in us ſtill to go on with the ſame cry; which hath ever ſince been ſo effectually obſerved, that the true political dirt is wholly removed, and thrown on its proper dunghills, there to corrupt and be no more heard of.

But to proceed to other enormities: Every perſon who walks the ſtreets, muſt needs obſerve an immenſe number of human excrements at the doors and ſteps of waſte houſes, and at the ſides of every dead wall; for which the diſaffected party hath aſſigned a very falſe and malicious cauſe: they would have it, that theſe heaps were laid there privately by Britiſh fundaments to make the world believe, that our Iriſh vulgar do daily eat and drink; and

† A new name for a modern periwig with a long black tail, and for its owner; now in faſhion, Dec. 1. 1733.

conſequently

conſequently that the clamour of poverty among us muſt be falſe, proceeding only from Jacobites and Papiſts. They would confirm this by pretending to obſerve, that a Britiſh *anus* being more narrowly perforated than one of our own country, and many of theſe excrements, upon a ſtrict view, appearing couple-crowned with a point like a cone or pyramid, are eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the Hibernian, which lie much flatter and with leſs continuity. I communicated this conjecture to an eminent phyſician, who is well verſed in ſuch profound ſpeculations; and at my requeſt was pleaſed to make trial with each of his fingers, by thruſting them into the *anus* of ſeveral perſons of both nations, and profeſſed he could find no ſuch difference between them as thoſe ill-diſpoſed people alledge. On the contrary, he aſſured me, that much the greater number of narrow cavities were of Hibernian origin. This I only mention, to ſhew how ready the Jacobites are to lay hold of any handle to expreſs their malice againſt the government. I had almoſt forgot to add, that my friend the phyſician could by ſmelling each finger diſtinguiſh the Hibernian excrement from the Britiſh, and was not above twice miſtaken in an hundred experiments; upon which he intends very ſoon to publiſh a learned diſſertation.

There is a diverſion in this city, which uſually begins among the butchers; but is often continued by a ſucceſſion of other people through the ſtreets; it is called the COSSING *of a dog*: and I may juſtly number it among our corruptions. The ceremony is thus: A ſtrange dog happens to paſs thro' a fleſh-market; whereupon an expert butcher immediately cries in a loud voice and the proper tone, *Coſs, coſs*, ſeveral times. The ſame word is repeated by the people. The dog, who perfectly underſtands the term of art, and conſequently the danger he is in, immmediately flies. The people, and

even

even his own brother-animals, purſue: the purſuit and cry attend him perhaps half a mile; he is well worried in his flight; and ſometimes hardly eſcapes. This our ill-wiſhers of the Jacobite kind are pleaſed to call a perſecution; and affirm, that it always falls upon dogs of the Tory principle. But we can well defend ourſelves by juſtly alledging, that, when they were uppermoſt, they treated our dogs full as inhumanely. As to my own part, who have in former times often attended theſe proceſſions, although I can very well diſtinguiſh between a Whig and a Tory dog, yet I never carried my reſentment very far from a party-principle, except it were againſt certain malicious dogs, who moſt diſcovered their enmity againſt us, in the worſt times *. And I rememember too well, that in the wicked miniſtry of the Earl of Oxford a large maſtiff of our party, being unmercifully coſſed, ran without thinking between my legs, as I was coming up Fiſhamble-ſtreet; and as I am of low ſtature with very ſhort legs, bore me riding backwards down the hill for above two hundred yards: and although I made uſe of his tail for a bridle, holding it faſt with both my hands, and clung my legs as cloſe to his ſides as I could; yet we both came down together into the middle of the kennel; where, after rolling three or four times over each other, I got up with much ado amidſt the ſhouts and huzzas of a thouſand malicious Jacobites. I cannot indeed but gratefully acknowlege, that for this and many other ſervices and ſufferings * I have been ſince more than overpaid.

This adventure may perhaps have put me ouof love with the diverſion of coſſing, which I confeſs myſelf an enemy to, unleſs we could always be ſure

* A cant word uſed by the Whigs for the four laſt years of Queen Anne's reign, during the Earl of Oxford's miniſtry.

† See the apology for the Tale of a Tub, vol. 1.

of

of diſtinguiſhing Tory dogs; whereof great numbers have ſince been ſo prudent, as entirely to change their principles, and are now juſtly eſteemed the beſt worriers of their former friends.

I am aſſured, and partly know, that all the chimney-ſweepers boys, where members of parliament chiefly lodge, are hired by our enemies to ſculk in the tops of chimneys with their heads no higher than will juſt permit them to look round; and at the uſual hours, when members are going to the houſe, if they ſee a coach ſtand near the lodging of any loyal member, they call, *Coach, coach,* as loud as they can bawl, juſt at the inſtant when the footman begins to give the ſame call. And this is chiefly done on thoſe days when any point of importance is to be debated. This practice may be of very dangerous conſequence; for theſe boys are all hired by enemies to the government; and thus, by the abſence of a few members for a few minutes, a queſtion may he carried againſt the true intereſt of the kingdom, and very probably not without an eye towards the pretender.

I have not obſerved the wit and fancy of this town ſo much employed in any one article, as that of contriving variety of ſigns to hang over houſes, where punch is to be ſold. The bowl is repreſented full of punch, the laddle ſtands erect in the middle, ſupported ſometimes by one and ſometimes by two animals, whoſe feet reſt upon the edge of the bowl. Theſe animals are ſometimes one black lion, and ſometimes a couple; ſometimes a ſingle eagle, and ſometimes a ſpread one; and we often meet a crow, a ſwan, a bear, or a cock, in the ſame poſture.

Now, I cannot find how any of theſe animals either ſeparate or in conjunction are, properly ſpeaking, fit emblems or embelliſhments to advance the ſale of punch. Beſides, it is agreed among naturaliſts, that no brute can endure the taſte of ſtrong liquor,

liquor, except where he hath been uſed to it from his infancy; and conſequently it is againſt all the rules of hieroglyph to aſſign thoſe animals as patrons or protectors of punch. For in that caſe we ought to ſuppoſe, that the hoſt keeps always ready the real bird or beaſt, whereof the picture hangs over his door, to entertain his gueſts; which, however, to my knowledge, is not true in fact; not one of thoſe birds being a proper companion for a Chriſtian, as to aiding and aſſiſting in making the punch. For as they are drawn upon the ſign, they are much more likely to mute, or ſhed their feathers into the liquor. Then as to the bear, he is too terrible, aukward, and ſlovenly a companion to converſe with; neither are any of them handy enough to fill liquor to the company; I do therefore vehemently ſuſpect a plot intended againſt the government by theſe devices. For although the ſpread eagle be the arms of Germany, upon which account it may poſſibly be a lawful Proteſtant ſign, yet I who am very ſuſpicious of fair outſides in a matter which ſo nearly concerns our welfare, cannot but call to mind, that the pretender's wife is ſaid to be of German birth; and that many Popiſh princes in ſo vaſt an extent of land are reported to excel both at making and drinking punch: beſides, it is plain, that the ſpread eagle exhibits to us the perfect figure of a croſs; which is a badge of Popery. Then as to the cock, he is well known to repreſent the French nation, our old and dangerous enemy. The ſwan, who muſt of neceſſity cover the entire bowl with his wings, can be no other than the Spaniard, who endeavours to engroſs all the treaſures of the Indies to himſelf. The lion is indeed the common emblem of royal power, as well as the arms of England; but to paint him black is perfect Jacobitiſm, and a manifeſt type of thoſe who blacken the actions of the beſt princes. It is not eaſy to diſtinguiſh, whether that other fowl painted over the punch-bowl

be a crow or a raven. It is true, they have both been ominous birds: but I rather take it to be the former; because it is the disposition of a crow to pick out the eyes of other creatures; and often even of Christians, after they are dead; and is therefore drawn here with a design to put the Jacobites in mind of their old practice, first to lull us asleep, (which is an emblem of death) and then to blind our eyes, that we may not see their dangerous practices against the state.

To speak my private opinion: The least offensive picture in the whole set seems to be the bear; because he represents *ursa major*, or the *great bear*, who presides over the north, where the reformation first began; and which, next to Britain (including Scotland and the north of Ireland) is the great protector of the true Protestant religion. But however in those signs, where I observe the *bear* to be chained, I cannot help surmising a *Jacobite* contrivance; by which these traitors hint an earnest desire of using all true Whigs, as their predecessors did the primitive Christians: I mean, to represent us as *bears*, and then halloo their Tory-dogs to bait us to death.

Thus I have given a fair account of what I dislike in all the signs set over those houses that invite us to punch. I own it was a matter that did not need explaining, being so very obvious to common understanding; yet I know not how it happens, but methinks there seems a fatal blindness to overspread our corporeal eyes, as well as our intellectual; and I heartily wish, I may be found a false prophet. For these are not bare suspicions, but manifest demonstrations.

Therefore, away with these popish Jacobites, and idolatrous gewgaws. And I heartily wish a law were enacted under severe penalties against drinking punch at all; for nothing is easier, than to prove it a disaffected liquor; the chief ingredients, which are brandy, oranges, and lemons, are all sent us from Popish

piſh countries; and nothing remains of Proteſtant growth but ſugar and water. For as to biſcuit, which formerly was held a neceſſary ingredient, and is truly Britiſh, we find it is entirely rejected.

But I will put the truth of my aſſertion paſt all doubt: I mean, that this liquor is by one important innovation grown of ill example, and dangerous conſequence to the public. It is well known, that by the true original inſtitution of making punch left us by Captain Ratcliff, the ſharpneſs is only occaſioned by the juice of lemons; and ſo continued until after the happy revolution. Oranges, alas! are a mere innovation, and in a manner but of yeſterday. It was the politics of Jacobites to introduce them gradually; and to what intent? the thing ſpeaks itſelf. It was cunningly to ſhew their virulence againſt his Sacred Majeſty King William of ever glorious and immortal memory. But of late (to ſhew how faſt diſloyalty increaſeth) they came from one to two, and then to three oranges; nay at preſent we often find punch made all with oranges, and not one ſingle lemon. For the Jacobites before the death of that immortal prince, had by a ſuperſtition formed a private prayer, that as they ſqueezed the orange, ſo might that Proteſtant King be ſqueezed to death; according to the known ſorcery deſcribed by Virgil;

Limus ut hic dureſcit, et hæc ut cera liqueſcit, &c.

And thus the Romans, when they ſacrificed an ox, uſed this kind of prayer: As I knock down this ox, ſo mayſt thou, O Jupiter! knock down our enemies. In like manner, after King William's death, whenever a Jacobite ſqueezed an orange, he had a mental curſe upon the glorious memory, and a hearty wiſh for power to ſqueeze all his Majeſty's friends to death, as he ſqueezed that orange, which bore one of his titles, as he was Prince of Orange.

This I do affirm for truth, many of that faction having confeſſed it to me under an oath of ſecrecy, which, however, I thought it my duty not to keep, when I ſaw my dear country in danger. But what better can be expected from an impious ſet of men, who never ſcruple to drink *confuſion* to all true Proteſtants under the name of *Whig?* A moſt unchriſtian and inhuman practice; "which, "to our great honour and comfort, was *never* "charged upon us, even by our moſt malicious "detractors."

The ſign of two angels hovering in the air, and with their right hands ſupporting a crown, is met with in ſeveral parts of this city; and hath often given me great offence; for, whether by the unſkilfulneſs or dangerous principles of the painters, (although I have good reaſon to ſuſpect the latter), thoſe angels are uſually drawn with ſuch horrid, or indeed rather diabolical countenances, that they give great offence to every loyal eye, and equal cauſe of triumph to the Jacobites, being a moſt infamous reflection upon our able and excellent miniſtry.

I now return to that great enormity of city-cries, moſt of which we have borrowed from London. I ſhall conſider them only in a political view, as they nearly affect the peace and ſafety of both kingdoms; and having been originally contrived by wicked Machiavels to bring in popery, ſlavery, and arbitrary power, by defeating the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and introducing the pretender, ought in juſtice to be here laid open to the world.

About two or three months after the happy revolution, all perſons who poſſeſſed any employment or office, in church or ſtate, were obliged by an act of parliament to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary; and a great number of diſaffected perſons refuſing to take the ſaid oaths from a pretended ſcruple of conſcience, but really

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from a ſpirit of Popery and rebellion, they contrived a plot to make the ſwearing to thoſe princes odious in the eyes of the people. To this end, they hired certain women of ill fame, but loud ſhrill voices, under pretence of ſelling fiſh, to go thro' the ſtreets with ſieves on their heads, and cry, *Buy my ſoul, buy my ſoul*; plainly inſinuating, that all thoſe who ſwore to King William, were juſt ready to ſell their ſouls for an employment. This cry was revived at the death of Queen Anne, and, I hear, ſtill continues in London with much offence to all true Proteſtants; but, to our great happineſs, ſeems to be almoſt dropt in Dublin.

But, becauſe I altogether contemn the diſpleaſure and reſentment of High-fliers, Tories, and Jacobites, whom I look upon to be worſe even than profeſſed Papiſts, I do here declare, that thoſe evils which I am going to mention were all brought in upon us in the worſt of times under the late Earl of Oxford's adminiſtration, during the four laſt years of Queen Anne's reign. "That wicked miniſter was univerſally known to be a Papiſt in his heart, * He was of a moſt avaritious nature, and is ſaid to have died worth four millions Sterling, beſides his vaſt expenſe in building, ſtatues, plate, jewels, and other coſtly rarities. He was of a mean obſcure birth, from the very dregs of the people; and ſo illiterate, that he could hardly read a paper at the council-table. I forbear to touch on his open, profane, profligate life; becauſe I deſire not to rake into the aſhes of the dead; and therefore, I ſhall obſerve this wiſe maxim, *De mortuis nil niſi bonum.*"

This flagitious man, in order to compaſs his black deſigns, employed certain wicked inſtruments (which great ſtateſmen are never without) to adapt

* The author's meaning is juſt contrary to the literal ſenſe in the character of Lord Oxford.

ſeveral London cries in ſuch a manner as would beſt anſwer his ends. And whereas it was upon good grounds grievouſly ſuſpected, that all *places* at court were ſold to the higheſt bidder; certain women were employed by his emiſſaries to carry fiſh in baſkets on their heads, and bawl through the ſtreets, "Buy my freſh places." I muſt indeed own, that other women uſed the ſame cry, who were innocent of this wicked deſign, and really ſold fiſh of that denomination to get an honeſt livelihood; but the reſt, who were in the ſecret, although they carried fiſh in their ſieves or baſkets to ſave appearances, yet they had likewiſe a certain ſign, ſomewhat reſembling that of the Free Maſons, which the purchaſers of *places* knew well enough, and were directed by the women, whither they were to reſort and make their purchaſe. And I remember very well how oddly it looked, when we obſerved many gentlemen finely dreſſed about the court-end of the town, and as far as York-buildings, where the Lord Treaſurer Oxford dwelt, calling the women who cried, "Buy my freſh places," and talking to them in the corner of a ſtreet, until they underſtood each other's ſign. But we never could obſerve, that any fiſh was bought.

Some years before the cries laſt mentioned, the Duke of Savoy was reported to have made certain overtures to the court of England for admitting his eldeſt ſon by the Ducheſs of Orleans's daughter to ſucceed to the crown, as next heir, upon the pretender's being rejected; and that ſon was immediately to turn Proteſtant. It was confidently reported, that great numbers of people diſaffected to the then Illuſtrious, but now Royal Houſe of Hanover, were in thoſe meaſures. Whereupon another ſet of women were hired by the Jacobite leaders to cry through the whole town, "Buy my "*ſavoys*, dainty *ſavoys*, curious *ſavoys*." But I cannot directly charge the late Earl of Oxford with this

this conſpiracy, becauſe he was not then chief miniſter. However, this wicked cry ſtill continues in London, and was brought over hither, where it remains to this day; and is, in my humble opinion, a very offenſive ſound to every true Proteſtant, who is old enough to remember thoſe dangerous times.

During the miniſtry of that corrupt and Jacobite Earl above mentioned, the ſecret pernicious deſign of thoſe in power was to ſell Flanders to France: the conſequence of which muſt have been the infallible ruin of the States-General, and would have opened the way for France to obtain that univerſal monarchy they have ſo long aimed at; to which the Britiſh dominions muſt next after Holland have been compelled to ſubmit, whereby the Proteſtant religion would be rooted out of the world.

A deſign of this vaſt importance, after long conſultation among the Jacobite grandees with the Earl of Oxford at their head, was at laſt determined to be carried on by the ſame method with the former: it was therefore again put into practice; but the conduct of it was chiefly left to choſen men, whoſe voices were louder and ſtronger than thoſe of the other ſex: and upon this occaſion was firſt inſtituted in London that famous cry of FLOUNDERS. But the criers were particularly directed to pronounce the word *flaunders*, and not *flounders*. For the country which we now by corruption call Flanders, is in its true orthography ſpelt *Flaunders*, as may be obvious to all who read old Engliſh books. I ſay, from hence begun that thundering cry, which hath ever ſince ſtunned the ears of all London, made ſo many children fall into fits, and women miſcarry; "Come buy my freſh flaunders, curious "flaunders, charming flaunders, alive, alive, ho;" which laſt words can with no propriety of ſpeech be applied to fiſh manifeſtly dead, (as I obſerved before in herrings and ſalmon), but very juſtly to

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ten provinces containing many millions of living Chriſtians. But the application is ſtill cloſer, when we conſider that all the people were to be taken like fiſhes in a net; and by aſſiſtance of the Pope, who ſets up to be the univerſal fiſher of men, the whole innocent nation was, according to our common expreſſion, to be "laid as flat as a flounder."

I remember myſelf a particular crier of flounders in London, who arrived at ſo much fame for the loudneſs of his voice, as to have the honour of being mentioned upon that account in a comedy. He hath diſturbed me many a morning, before he came within fifty doors of my lodging: and although I were not in thoſe days ſo fully appriſed of the deſigns which our common enemy had then in agitation, yet, I know not how, by a ſecret impulſe, young as I was, I could not forbear conceiving a ſtrong diſlike againſt the fellow; and often ſaid to myſelf, "This cry ſeems to be forged "in the Jeſuits ſchool: alas, poor England! I am "grievouſly miſtaken, if there be not ſome Popiſh "plot at the bottom." I communicated my thoughts to an intimate friend, who reproached me with being too viſionary in my ſpeculations: but it proved afterwards, that I conjectured right. And I have ſince reflected, that if the wicked faction could have procured only a thouſand men of as ſtrong lungs as the fellow I mentioned, none can tell how terrible the conſequences might have been not only to theſe two kingdoms, but over all Europe, by ſelling Flanders to France. And yet theſe cries continue unpuniſhed both in London and Dublin; although, I confeſs, not with equal vehemency or loudneſs; becauſe the reaſon for contriving this deſperate plot is, to our great felicity, wholly ceaſed.

It is well known, that the majority of the Britiſh houſe of Commons in the laſt years of Queen Anne's reign were in their hearts directly oppoſite to the Earl

Earl of Oxford's pernicious meaſures; which put him under the neceſſity of bribing them with ſalaries. Whereupon he had again recourſe to his old politics. And accordingly his emiſſaries were very buſy in employing certain artful women, of no good life and converſation, (as it was proved before Juſtice * Peyton), to cry that vegetable commonly called *ſellery* through the town. Theſe women differ from the common criers of that herb by ſome private mark, which I could never learn; but the matter was norious enough, and ſufficiently talked of; and about the ſame period was the cry of *ſellery* brought over into this kingdom. But ſince there is not at this preſent the leaſt occaſion to ſuſpect the loyalty of our criers upon that article, I am content that it may ſtill be tolerated.

I ſhall mention but one cry more, which hath any reference to politics; but is indeed of all others the moſt inſolent, as well as treaſonable, under our preſent happy eſtabliſhment; I mean that of *turnups*; not of *turnips*, according to the beſt orthography, but abſolutely *turnups*. Although the cry be of an older date than ſome of the preceding enormities, for it began ſoon after the revolution; yet was it never known to arrive at ſo great a height, as during the Earl of Oxford's power. Some people (whom I take to be private enemies) are indeed as ready as myſelf to profeſs their diſapprobation of this cry, on pretence that it began by the contrivance of certain old procureſſes, who kept houſes of ill fame, where lewd women met to draw young men into vice. And this they pretend to prove by ſome words in the cry; becauſe, after the crier had bawled out, "Turnups, ho, buy my "dainty turnups," he would ſometimes add the two following verſes.

* A famous Whig juſtice in thoſe times.

Turn

Turn up the miſtreſs, and turn up the maid,
And turn up the daughter, and be not afraid.

This, ſay ſome political ſophiſts, plainly ſhews, that there can be nothing farther meant in ſo infamous a cry, than an invitation to lewdneſs; which indeed ought to be ſeverely puniſhed in all well-regulated governments; yet cannot be fairly interpreted as a crime of ſtate. But I hope we are not ſo weak and blind to be deluded at this time of day with ſuch poor evaſions. I could, if it were proper, demonſtrate the very time when theſe two verſes were compoſed, and name the author, who was no other than the famous Mr. Swan ſo well known for his talent at quibbling, and was as virulent a Jacobite as any in England Neither could he deny the fact, when he was taxed for it in my preſence, by Sir Henry Dutton-Colt, and Colonel Davenport, at the Smyrna coffeehouſe, on the 10th of June 1701. Thus, it appears to a demonſtration, that thoſe verſes were only a blind to conceal the moſt dangerous deſigns of the party; who, from the firſt years after the happy revolution, uſed a cant way of talking in their clubs, after this manner: "We hope to ſee the cards ſhuffled once "more, and another King TURN UP trumph:" and, "When ſhall we meet over a diſh of TURN-"UPS?" The ſame term of art was uſed in their plots againſt the government, and in their treaſonable letters written in cyphers, and decyphered by the famous Dr. Willes, as you may read in the trials of thoſe times. This I thought fit to ſet forth at large, and in ſo clear a light; becauſe the Scotch and French authors have given a very different account of the word TURNUP; but whether out of ignorance or partiality, I ſhall not decree; becauſe, I am ſure, the reader is convinced by my diſcovery. It is to be obſerved, that this cry was ſung in a particular

icular manner by fellows in diſguiſe to give notice, vhere thoſe traitors were to meet in order to con- ert their villanous deſigns.

I have no more to add upon this article, than an umble propoſal, that thoſe who cry this root at reſent in our ſtreets of Dublin may be compelled y the juſtices of the peace to pronounce *turnip*, nd not *turnup*; for, I am afraid, we ſtill have too nany ſnakes in our boſom, and it would be well if heir cellars were ſometimes ſearched, when the wners leaſt expect it; for I am not out of fear, hat *latet anguis in herba*.

Thus we are zealous in matters of ſmall moment, hile we neglect thoſe of the higheſt importance. have already made it manifeſt, that all theſe cries ere contrived in the worſt of times, under the iniſtry of that deſperate ſtateſman Robert late arl of Oxford; and for that very reaſon ought o be rejected with horror, as begun in the reign of acobites, and may well be numbered among the gs of Popery and treaſon; or if it be thought roper that theſe cries muſt continue, ſurely they ught to be only truſted in the hands of true Pro- eſtants, who have given ſecurity to the govern- ent.

A LET-

A LETTER from a Member of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, to a Member of the Houſe of Commons in England, concerning the SACRAMENTAL TEST.

Written in the year 1708 *.

SIR,

I Received your letter, wherein you tell me of the ſtrange repreſentations made of us on your ſide of the water. The inſtance you are pleaſed to mention is that of the Preſbyterian miſſionary, who, accord-

* In the 2d volume of Dr Swift's and Mr Pope's miſcellanies, I found the following treatiſe, which had been printed in London, with ſome other of the Dean's works, many years before, but it firſt came out by itſelf in the year 1708, as the date ſhews: and it was at a juncture, when the Diſſenters were endeavouring to repeal the ſacramental teſt, as, by common fame, and ſome pamphlets publiſhed to the ſame purpoſe, they ſeem to be now again attempting, with great hope of ſucceſs. I have therefore taken the liberty to make an extract out of that diſcourſe, omitting only ſome paſſages, which relate to certain perſons, and are of no conſequence to the argument. But the author's way of reaſoning ſeems at preſent to have more weight than it had in thoſe times when the diſcourſe firſt appeared.——The author, in this letter, perſonates a member of parliament here, to a member of parliament in England.——The ſpeaker mentioned in this letter, was Allen Broderick, afterwards Chancellor and Lord Middleton; and the Prelate was Dr Lindſay, afterwards Primate. *Dub. edit.* 1735.

This tract was reprinted in Ireland in 1735, when the attempt to repeal the ſacramental teſt was revived. There was an explanatory advertiſement prefixed, which is ſaid by Lord Orrery to have been dictated, or ſtrictly reviſed, by the Dean himſelf: but there are inaccuracies in it, which may well be thought ſufficient to deſtroy its authenticity: that which in the firſt paragraph is called the *following treatiſe* is afterwards ſaid to be an *extract of a diſcourſe*, and it is immediately added, that this extract is the *whole*, except ſome paſſages of no conſequence: theſe are included within crotchets.

Swift

according to your phraſe, hath been lately perſecuted at Drogheda for his religion: but it is eaſy to obſerve, how mighty induſtrious ſome people have been for three or four years paſt, to hand about ſtories of the hardſhips, the merits, the number, and the power of the Preſbyterians in Ireland, to raiſe formidable ideas of the dangers of Popery there, and to tranſmit all for England, improved by great additions, and with ſpecial care to have them inſerted with comments in thoſe infamous weekly papers that infeſt your coffeehouſes. So, when the clauſe enacting a *ſacramental teſt* was put in execution, it was given out in England, that half the juſtices of peace through this kingdom had laid down their commiſſions: whereas, upon examination, the whole number was found to amount only to a dozen or thirteen, and thoſe generally of the loweſt rate in fortune and underſtanding, and ſome of them ſuperannuated. So, when the Earl of Pembroke was in Ireland, and the parliament ſitting, a formal ſtory was very gravely carried to his Excellency by ſome zealous members, of a prieſt newly arrived from abroad to the north-weſt parts of Ireland, who had publicly preached to his people to fall a murthering the Proteſtants; which, though invented to ſerve an end they were then upon, and are ſtill driving at, was preſently handed over, and printed with ſhrewd remarks by your worthy ſcriblers. In like manner the account of that perſon who was lately expelled our univerſity

Swift held the Diſſenters in the utmoſt degree of ridicule and deteſtation. He had an openneſs in his diſpoſition, and a frankneſs in his conduct, that bore an abhorrence to all kind of reſerve.——To ſuch a diſpoſition it is impoſſible that the gravity of Nonconformiſts could be agreeable. The diſlike was mutual on both ſides. Dr Swift hated all fanatics: all fanatics hated Dr. Swift. This piece is particularly written againſt *repealing the teſt-act*: and whoever conſiders himſelf related to the kingdom of Ireland, will find in it ſome arguments of weight and conſideration, in caſe any ſuch repeal ſhould ever be attempted there. *O rery.*

for reflecting on the memory of King William; what a duſt it raiſed, and how foully it was related, is freſh enough in memory. Neither would people be convinced till the univerſity was at the pains of publiſhing a Latin paper to juſtify themſelves. And, to mention no more, this ſtory of the perſecution at Drogheda, how it hath been ſpread and aggravated, what conſequences have been drawn from it, and what reproaches fixed on thoſe who have leaſt deſerved them, we are already informed. Now, if the end of all this proceeding were a ſecret and myſtery, I ſhould not pretend to give it an interpretation; but ſufficient care hath been taken to explain it, *firſt*, by addreſſes artificially (if not illegally) procured, to ſhew the miſerable ſtate of the Diſſenters in Ireland by reaſon of the *ſacramental teſt*, and to deſire the Queen's interceſſion that it might be repealed. Then, it is manifeſt that our Speaker *, when he was laſt year in England, ſolicited in perſon ſeveral members of both houſes, to have it repealed by an act there; though it be a matter purely national, that cannot poſſibly interfere with the trade and intereſt of England; and though he himſelf appeared formerly the moſt zealous of all men againſt the injuſtice of binding a nation by laws to which they do not conſent. And, *laſtly*, thoſe weekly libellers, whenever they get a tale by the end relating to Ireland, without once troubling their thoughts about the truth, always end it with an application againſt the *ſacramental teſt*, and an abſolute neceſſity there is of repealing it in both kingdoms. I know it may be reckoned a weakneſs to ſay any thing of ſuch trifles as are below a ſerious man's notice; much leſs would I diſparage the underſtanding of any party, to think they would chuſe the vileſt and moſt igno-

* Mr Allen Broderick, afterwards Chancellor of Ireland, and Lord Middleton.

rant

rant among mankind, to employ them for the asſertors of a cauſe. I ſhall only ſay, that the ſcandalous liberty thoſe wretches take, would hardly be allowed, if it were not mingled with opinions that ſome men would be glad to advance. Beſides, how inſipid ſoever thoſe papers are, they ſeem to be levelled to the underſtandings of a great number; they are grown a neceſſary part in coffeehouſe furniture, and ſome time or other may happen to be read by cuſtomers of all ranks for curioſity and amuſement, becauſe they lie always in the way. One of theſe authors (the fellow that was *pilloried*, I have forgot his name *) is indeed ſo grave, ſententious, dogmatical a rogue, that there is no enduring him; the Obſervator † is much the briſker of the two, and I think farther gone of late in lies and impudence than his Preſbyterian brother. [The reaſon why I mention him is to have an occaſion of letting you know, that you have not dealt ſo gallantly with us, as we did with you in a parallel caſe: Laſt year a paper was brought here from England, called "A dialogue between the Archbiſhop of Canter-"bury and Mr. Higgins," which we ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, as it well deſerved, though we have no more to do with his Grace of Canterbury ‡, than you have with the Archbiſhop of Dublin; nor can you love and reverence your prelate more than we do ours, whom you tamely ſuffer to be abuſed openly, and by name, by

* The fellow that was pilloried was Daniel Defoe, whoſe name Swift well knew and remembered; but the circumſtance of the pillory was to be introduced; and the manner of introducing it, ſhews great art in the niceſt touches of ſatire, and carries all the marks of ridicule, indignation, and contempt. The ſcoffs and ſarcaſms of Swift, like the bite of the rattle-ſnake, diſinguiſh themſelves more venomouſly dangerous, than the wounds of a common ſerpent. *Orrery.*

He was pilloried for a tract called, "The ſhorteſt way with the "Diſſenters."

† Mr. John Turchin. ‡ Dr. Thomas Teniſon.

that paltry rascal of an Observator; and lately upon an affair wherein he had no concern; I mean the business of the missionary of Drogheda, wherein our excellent primate was engaged, and did nothing but according to law and discretion. But because the Lord Archbishop of Dublin ‖ hath been upon several occasions, of late years, misrepresented in England, I would willingly set you right in his character. For his great sufferings and eminent services he was, by the late King, promoted to the see of Derry. About the same time he wrote a book to justify the revolution, wherein was an account of King James's proceedings in Ireland; and the late Archbishop Tillotson recommended it to the King as the most serviceable treatise that could have been published at such a juncture. And as his Grace set out upon those principles, he has proceeded so ever since, as a loyal subject to the Queen, entirely for the succession in the Protestant line, and for ever excluding the pretender; and though a firm friend to the church, yet with indulgence towards Dissenters, as appears from his conduct at Derry, where he was settled for many years among the most virulent of the sect, yet upon his removal to Dublin they parted from him with tears in their eyes, and universal acknowledgments of his wisdom and goodness. For the rest, it must be owned, he does not busy himself by entering deep into any party, but rather spends his time in acts of hospitality and charity, in building of churches, repairing his palace, in introducing and preferring the worthiest persons he can find, without other regards; in short, in the practice of all virtues that can become a public or private life. This and more, if possible, is due to so excellent a person, who may be justly reckoned among the greatest and most learned prelates of this age, however his character

‖ Dr. William King.

may

may be defiled by such mean and dirty hands as those of the Observator, or such as employ him.]

I now come to answer the other part of your letter, and shall give you my opinion freely about repealing the sacramental test; only whereas you desire my thoughts as a friend, and not as I am a member of parliament, I must assure you they are exactly the same in both capacities.

I must begin by telling you, we are generally surprised at your wonderful kindness to us on this occasion, in being so very industrious to teach us to see our interests in a point where we are so unable to see it ourselves. This hath given us some suspicion; and though, in my own particular, I am hugely bent to believe, that whenever you concern yourselves in our affairs, it is certainly for our good, yet I have the misfortune to be something singular in this belief, and therefore I never attempt to justify it, but content myself to possess my own opinion in private, for fear of encountering men of more wit or words than I have to spare.

We at this distance, who see nothing of the spring of actions, are forced by mere conjecture to assign two reasons for your desiring us to repeal the sacramental test; one is, because you are said to imagine it will be a step towards the like good work in England. The other more immediate, that it will open a way for rewarding several persons, who have well deserved upon a great occasion, but who are now unqualified through that impediment.

I do not frequently quote poets, especially English: but I remember there is in some of Mr. Cowley's love-verses a strain, that I thought extraordinary at fifteen, and have often since imagined it to be spoken by Ireland.

Forbid it, heaven, my life should be
Weigh'd with her least convenience.

In ſhort, whatever advantage you propoſe to yourſelves by repealing the ſacramental teſt, ſpeak it out plainly, it is the beſt argument you can uſe; for we value your intereſt much more than our own; if your little finger be ſore, and you think a poultice made of our vitals will give it any eaſe, ſpeak the word, and it ſhall be done: the intereſt of our whole kingdom is at any time ready to ſtrike to that of your pooreſt fiſhing-town; it is hard you will not accept our ſervices, unleſs we believe at the ſame time, that you are only conſulting our profit, and giving us marks of your love. If there be a fire at ſome diſtance, and I immediately blow up my houſe before there be occaſion, becauſe you are a man of quality, and apprehended ſome danger to a corner of your ſtable; yet why ſhould you require me to attend next morning at your levee, with my humble thanks for the favour you have done me?

If we might be allowed to judge for ourſelves, we had abundance of benefit by the ſacramental teſt, and foreſee a number of miſchiefs would be the conſequence of repealing it; and we conceive the objections made againſt it by the Diſſenters are of no manner of force. They tell us of their merits in the late war in Ireland, and how chearfully they engaged for the ſafety of the nation; that if they had thought they had been fighting only other people's quarrels, perhaps it might have cooled their zeal; and that for the future they ſhall ſit down quietly, and let us do our work ourſelves; nay, that it is neceſſary they ſhould do ſo, ſince they cannot take up arms under the penalty of high treaſon.

Now, ſuppoſing them to have done their duty, as I believe they did, and not trouble them about the fly on the wheel*, I thought liberty, property, and religion,

* Alluding to the fable of a fly, who having ſettled on the ſpoke of a wheel belonging to a chariot that was driven rapidly along the road,

religion, had been the three ſubjects of the quarrel; and have not all thoſe been amply ſecured to them? had they at that time a mental reſervation for power and employments? and muſt theſe two articles be added henceforward in our national quarrels? It is grown a mighty conceit among ſome men, to melt down the phraſe of a church eſtabliſhed by law, into that of the religion of the magiſtrate; of which appellation it is eaſier to find the reaſon than the ſenſe: if by the magiſtrate they mean the prince, [the expreſſion includes a falſehood; for when King James was prince], the eſtabliſhed church was the ſame it is now. If by the ſame word they mean the legiſlature, we deſire no more. Be that as it will, we of this kingdom believe the church of Ireland to be the national church, and the only one eſtabliſhed by law, and are willing by the ſame law to give a toleration to Diſſenters; but if once we repeal our ſacramental teſt, and grant a toleration, or ſuſpend the execution of the penal laws, I do not ſee how we can be ſaid to have any eſtabliſhed church remaining; or rather, why there will not be as many eſtabliſhed churches, as there are ſects of Diſſenters. No, ſay they, yours will ſtill be the national church, becauſe your biſhops and clergy are maintained by the public; but that, I ſuppoſe, will be of no long duration, and it would be very unjuſt it ſhould; becauſe, to ſpeak in Tindal's phraſe, it is not reaſonable that revenues ſhould be annexed to one opinion more than another, when all are equally lawful; and it is the ſame author's maxim, That no freeborn ſubject ought to pay for maintaining ſpeculations he does no believe. But why ſhould any man, upon account of opinions he cannot help, be deprived the opportunity of ſerving his Queen and country! their zeal is commend-

road, exulted in his own importance, and cried out, *What a duſt we raiſe!*

able,

able, and when employments go a-begging for want of hands, they ſhall be ſure to have the refuſal, only upon condition they will not pretend to them upon maxims which equally include Atheiſts, Turks, Jews, Infidels, and heretics: or, which is ſtill more dangerous, even Papiſts themſelves: the former you allow, the other you deny; becauſe theſe laſt own a foreign power, and therefore muſt be ſhut out. But there is no great weight in this; for their religion can ſuit with free ſtates, with limited or abſolute monarchies, as well as a better; and the Pope's power in France is but a ſhadow; ſo that upon this foot there need be no great danger to the conſtitution by admitting Papiſts to employments. I will help you to enough of them who ſhall be as ready to allow the Pope here as little power as you pleaſe; and the bare opinion of his being vicar of Chriſt is but a ſpeculative point, for which no man it ſeems ought to be deprived the capacity of ſerving his country.

But, if you pleaſe, I will tell you the great objection we have againſt repealing this ſame ſacramental teſt. It is, that we are verily perſuaded, the conſequence will be an entire alteration of religion among us in no great compaſs of years. And pray, obſerve how we reaſon here in Ireland upon this matter.

We obſerve the Scots in our northern parts to be a brave induſtrious people, extremely devoted to their religion, and full of an undiſturbed affection towards each other. Numbers of that noble nation, invited by the fertilities of that ſoil, are glad to exchange their barren hills of Lochaber by a voyage of three hours, for our fruitful vales of Doun and Antrim, ſo productive of that grain, which at little trouble and leſs expenſe finds diet and lodging for themſelves and their cattle. Theſe people, by their extreme parſimony, wonderful dexterity in dealing, and firm adherence to one another, ſoon grow into

nto wealth from the ſmalleſt beginnings, never are ooted out where they once fix, and increaſe daily y new ſupplies; beſides, when they are the ſupe- ior number in any tract of ground, they are not ver patient of mixture: but ſuch whom they can- ot aſſimulate, ſoon find it their intereſt to remove. have done all in my power on ſome land of my wn to preſerve two or three Engliſh fellows in heir neighbourhood, but found it impoſſible, tho' ne of them thought he had ſufficiently made his ourt by turning preſbyterian. Add to all this, hat they bring along with them from Scotland a noſt formidable notion of our church, which they ook upon at leaſt three degrees worſe than Popery: nd it is natural it ſhould be ſo, ſince they come ver full fraught with that ſpirit which taught them o aboliſh Epiſcopacy at home.

Then we proceed farther, and obſerve, that the entlemen of employments here make a very con- iderable number of the houſe of Commons, and ave no other merit, but that of doing their duty n their ſeveral ſtations; therefore, when the teſt s repealed, it will be highly reaſonable they ſhould ive place to thoſe who have much greater ſervices o plead. The commiſſions of the revenue are ſoon iſpoſed of, and the collectors and other officers hroughout the kingdom are generally appointed y the commiſſioners, which give them a mighty nfluence in every county. As much may be ſaid f the great offices in the law; and when this door s open to let Diſſenters into the commiſſions of the eace, to make them high ſheriffs, mayors of cor- orations, and officers of the army and militia, I o not ſee how it can be otherwiſe, conſidering their nduſtry and our ſupineneſs, but that they may, in very few years, grow to a majority in the houſe f Commons, and conſequently make themſelves he national religion, and have a fair pretence to emand the revenues of the church for their teach-

ers,

ers. I know it will be objected, that if all this ſhould happen as I deſcribe, yet the Preſbyterian religion could never be made the national by act of parliament, becauſe our biſhops are ſo great in number in the houſe of Lords; and without a majority there, the church could not be aboliſhed. But I have two very good expedients for that, which I ſhall leave you to gueſs, and I dare ſwear our Speaker here has often thought on, eſpecially having endeavoured at one of them ſo lately. To convince you, that this deſign is not ſo foreign from ſome people's thoughts, I muſt let you know, that an honeſt bell-wether * of our houſe (you have him now in England, I wiſh you could keep him there) had the impudence, ſome years ago, in parliament-time, to ſhake my Lord Biſhop of Kilaloo † by his lawn-ſleeve, and tell him, in a threatening manner, "that he hoped to live to ſee the day "when there ſhould not be one of his order in the "kingdom."

Theſe laſt lines perhaps you think a digreſſion: therefore to return, I have told you the conſequences we fully reckon upon from repealing the ſacramental teſt, which although the greateſt number of ſuch as are for doing it, are actually in no manner of pain about it, and many of them care not three pence whether there be any church, or no; yet becauſe they pretend to argue from conſcience as well as policy and intereſt, I thought it proper to underſtand and anſwer them accordingly.

Now, Sir, in anſwer to your queſtion, whether if any attempt ſhould be made here for repealing the ſacramental teſt, it would be likely to ſucceed? the number of profeſſed Diſſenters in this parliament was, as I remember, ſomething under a dozen, and I cannot call to mind above thirty others who

* Suppoſed to be Mr. Broderick.

† Dr. Lindſay, afterwards Lord Primate.

were

vere expected to fall in with them. This is certain, that the Presbyterian party having with great industry mustered up their forces, did endeavour one day, upon occasion of a hint in my Lord Pembroke's ‡ speech, to introduce a debate about repealing the test-clause, when there appeared at least four to one odds against them; and the ablest of those who are reckoned the most stanch and thorough-paced Whigs upon all other occasions, fell off with an abhorrence at the first mention of this.

I must desire you to take notice, that the terms of Whig and Tory do not properly express the different interests in our parliament. [I remember, when I was last in England, I told the King, that the highest Tories we had with us would make tolerable Whigs there: this was certainly right, and still in the general continues so, unless you have since admitted new characteristics, which did not come within our definition.] Whoever bears a true veneration for the glorious memory of King William, as our great deliverer from Popery and slavery; whoever is firmly loyal to our present Queen, with an utter abhorrence and detestation of the pretender; whoever approves the succession to the crown in the house of Hanover, and is for preserving the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, with an indulgence for scrupulous consciences; such a man we think acts upon right principles, and may be justly allowed a Whig: And I believe there are not six members in our house of Commons, who may not fairly come under this description. So that the parties among us are made up on one side of moderate Whigs, and on the other of Presbyterians and their abettors, by which last I mean such who can equally go to a church or conventicle, or such who are indifferent to all religion in general; or lastly, such who affect

‡ Then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

to

to bear a perſonal rancour towards the clergy: theſe laſt are a ſet of men not of our own growth, their principles at leaſt have been imported of late years; yet this whole party put together will ſcarce I am confident, amount to above fifty men in parliament, which can hardly be worked up into a majority of three hundred.

As to the houſe of Lords, the difficulty there is conceived at leaſt as great as in ours. So many of our temporal peers live in England, that the biſhops are generally pretty near a *par* of the houſe, and we reckon they will be all to a man againſt repealing the teſt; and yet their Lordſhips are generally thought as good Whigs upon our principles as any in the kingdom. There are indeed a few lay-lords, who appear to have no great devotion for Epiſcopacy; and perhaps one or two more, with whom certain powerful motives might be uſed for removing any difficulty whatſoever: but theſe are, in no ſort, a number to carry any point againſt a conjunction of the reſt and the whole bench of biſhops.

Beſides, the whole body of our clergy is utterly againſt repealing the teſt, though they are entirely devoted to her Majeſty, and hardly one in an hundred, who are not very good Whigs in our acceptation of the word. And I muſt let you know, that we of Ireland are not come up to other folks refinements, for we generally love and eſteem our clergy, and think they deſerve it; nay, we are apt to lay ſome weight on their opinion, and would not willingly diſoblige them, at leaſt, unleſs it were upon ſome greater point of intereſt than this. And their judgment in the preſent affair is the more to be regarded, becauſe they are the laſt perſons who will be affected by it: this makes us think them impartial, and that their concern is only for religion and the intereſt of the kingdom. Becauſe the act which repeals the teſt, will only qualify a layman for an employment,

nployment, but not a Preſbyterian or Anabaptiſt reacher for a church-living. Now, I muſt take ave to inform you, that ſeveral members of our ouſe, and myſelf among the reſt, knowing ſome me ago what was upon the anvil, went to all the ergy we knew of any diſtinction, and deſired eir judgement in the matter; wherein we found moſt wonderful agreement, there being but one vine that we could hear of in the whole kingdom, ho appeared of a contrary ſentiment, wherein he terwards ſtood alone in the convocation, very tle to his credit, though, as he hoped, very much his intereſt.

I will now conſider a little the arguments offered ſhew the advantages, or rather the neceſſity of pealing the teſt in Ireland. We are told, the Poſh intereſt is here ſo formidable, that all hands ould be joined to keep it under; that the only umes of diſtinction among us ought to be thoſe of roteſtant and Papiſt; and that this expedient is e only means to unite all Proteſtants upon one mmon bottom. All which is nothing but miſreſentation and miſtake.

If we were under any real fear of the Papiſts in is kingdom, it would be hard to think us ſo ſtuid, as not to be equally apprehenſive with others, ince we are likely to be the greateſt, and more imediate ſufferers: but, on the contrary, we look pon them to be altogether as inconſiderable as the omen and children. Their lands are almoſt entely taken from them, and they are rendered incapable of purchaſing any more: and for the little at remains, proviſion is made by the late act aginſt Popery, that it will daily crumble away: to revent which, ſome of the moſt conſiderable among them are already turned Proteſtants, and ſo all probability will many more. Then, the Poh prieſts are all regiſtered, and without permiſn (which I hope will not be granted) they can

have no ſucceſſors; ſo that the Proteſtant clergy will find it perhaps no difficult matter to bring great numbers over to the church; and in the mean time the common people, without leaders, without diſcipline, or natural courage, being little better than "hewers of wood, and drawers of water," are out of all capacity of doing any miſchief, if they were ever ſo well inclined. Neither are they at all likely to join in any conſiderable numbers with an invader, having found ſo ill ſucceſs when they were much more numerous and powerful; when they had a prince of their own religion to head them * had been trained for ſome years under a Popiſh deputy, and received ſuch mighty aids from the French King.

As to that argument uſed for repealing the teſt that it will unite all Proteſtants againſt the common enemy; I wonder by what figure thoſe gentlemen ſpeak, who are pleaſed to advance it: Suppoſe, in order to increaſe the friendſhip between you and me, a law ſhould paſs, that I muſt have half your eſtate; do you think that would much advance the union between us? or, ſuppoſe I ſhare my fortune equally between my own children and a ſtranger, whom I take into my protection; will that be a method to unite them? It is an odd way of uniting parties, to deprive a majority of part of their ancient right, by conferring it on a faction, who had never any right at all, and therefore cannot be ſaid to ſuffer any loſs or injury, if it be refuſed them. Neither is it very clear, how far ſome people may ſtretch the term of common enemy. How many are there of thoſe that call themſelves Proteſtants, who look upon our worſhip to be idolatrous as well as that of the Papiſts, and with great charity put Prelacy and Popery together as terms convertible?

* In the reign of King James II. and till after the battle of the Boyne in 1690.

And

And therefore there is one ſmall doubt I would
e willingly ſatisfied in, before I agree to the re-
ealing of the teſt: that is, whether theſe ſame
roteſtants, when they have, by their dexterity,
ade themſelves the national religion, and diſpoſed
e church revenues among their paſtors or them-
lves, will he ſo kind to allow us Diſſenters, I do
ot ſay a ſhare in employments, but a bare tolera-
on by law? The reaſon of my doubt is, becauſe I
ave been ſo very idle as to read above fifty pam-
hlets written by as many Preſbyterian divines,
udly diſclaiming this idol toleration, ſome of
em calling it (I know not how properly) a *rag*
Popery; and all agreeing it was to eſtabliſh ini-
uity by a law. Now, I would be glad to know,
hen and where their ſucceſſors have renounced
is doctrine, and before what witneſſes. Becauſe
ethinks I ſhould be loath to ſee my poor titular
ſhop *in partibus* ſeized on by miſtake in the dark
r a Jeſuit, or be forced myſelf to keep a chap-
in diſguiſed like my butler, and ſteal to prayers
a back room, as my grandfather uſed in thoſe
mes when the church of England was malignant.

But this is ripping up old quarrels long forgot;
opery is now the common enemy, againſt which
e muſt all unite; I have been tired in hiſtory
ith the perpetual folly of thoſe ſtates who call
foreigners to aſſiſt them againſt a common ene-
y; but the miſchief was, theſe allies would never
brought to allow, that the common enemy was
ite ſubdued. And they reaſon; for it proved at
ſt, that one part of the common enemy was
oſe who called them in, and ſo the allies became
length the maſters.

It is agreed among naturaliſts, that a lion is a
rger, a ſtronger, and more dangerous enemy
an a cat; yet if a man were to have his choice,
ther a lion at his foot, bound faſt with three or
ur chains, his teeth drawn out, and his claws

pared to the quick, or an angry cat in full liberty at his throat; he would take no long time to determine.

I have been sometimes admiring the wonderful significancy of that word *persecution*, and what various interpretation it hath acquired even within my memory. When I was a boy, I often heard the Presbyterians complain, that they were not permitted to serve God in their own way; they said they did not repine at our employments, but thought that all men who live peaceably ought to have liberty of conscience, and leave to assemble. That impediment being removed at the revolution, they soon learned to swallow the sacramental test, and began to take very large steps, wherein all who offered to oppose them, were called men of a persecuting spirit. During the time the bill against occasional conformity was on foot, persecution was every day rung in our ears, and now, at last, the sacramental test itself has the same name. Where then is this matter likely to end, when the obtaining of one request is only used as a step to demand another? A lover is ever complaining of cruelty, while any thing is denied him; and when the lady ceases to be cruel, she is from the next moment at his mercy: so persecution, it seems, is every thing, that will not leave it in mens power to persecute others.

There is one argument offered against a sacramental test by a sort of men who are content to be stiled of the church of England, who perhaps attend its service in the morning, and go with their wives to a conventicle in the afternoon, confessing they hear very good doctrine in both. These men are much offended, that so holy an institution, as that of the Lord's supper, should be made subservient to such mercenary purposes as the getting of an employment. Now, it seems, the law, concluding all men to be members of that church

where

here they receive the ſacrament; and ſuppoſing ll men to live like Chriſtians (eſpecially thoſe who re to have employments) did imagine they receiv- d the ſacrament in courſe about four times a-year; nd therefore only deſired it might appear by cer- ficate to the public, that ſuch who took an office, ere members of the church eſtabliſhed, by doing eir ordinary duty. However, leſt we ſhould of- end them, we have often deſired they would deal andidly with us: for, if the matter ſtuck only here, we would propoſe it in parliament, that e- ery man who takes an employment, ſhould, in- ead of receiving the ſacrament, be obliged to wear, that he is a member of the church of Ire- nd by law eſtabliſhed, with Epiſcopacy, *and ſo orth*: and as they do now in Scotland, *to be true o the kirk.* But when we drive them thus far, they lways retire to the main body of the argument, rge the hardſhip that men ſhould be deprived the berty of ſerving their Queen and country on ac- ount of their conſcience; and in ſhort, have re- ourſe to the common ſtile of their half-brethren. ow, whether this be a ſincere way of arguing, I ill appeal to any other judgment but theirs.

There is another topic of clamour ſomewhat pa- allel to the foregoing; it ſeems by the teſt-clauſe, he military officers are abliged to receive the ſacra- ent, as well as the civil. And it is a matter of me patience, to hear the Diſſenters declaiming up- n this occaſion: they cry they are diſarmed, they re uſed like Papiſts: when an enemy appears at ome, or from abroad, they muſt ſit ſtill, and ſee eir throats cut, or be hanged for high-treaſon if ey offer to defend themſelves. Miſerable condi- on! woful dilemma! it is happy for us all, that e pretender was not appriſed of this paſſive reſbyterian principle, elſe he would have infal- bly landed in our northern parts, and found hem all ſat down in their formalities, as the

Gauls did the Roman ſenators, ready to die with honour in their callings. Sometimes to appeaſe their indignation, we venture to give them hopes that in ſuch a caſe the government will perhaps connive, and hardly be ſo ſevere to hang them for defending it againſt the letter of the law; to which they readily anſwer, that they will not lie at our mercy, but let us fight our battles ourſelves. Sometimes we offer to get an act, by which, upon all Popiſh inſurrections at home, or Popiſh invaſions from abroad, the government ſhall be impowered to grant commiſſions to all Proteſtants whatſoever without that perſecuting circumſtance of obliging them to ſay their prayers when they receive the ſacrament: but they abhor all thoughts of occaſional commiſſions; they will not do our drudgery and we reap the benefit: it is not worth their while to fight *pro aris et focis*; and they had rather loſe their eſtates, liberties, religion, and lives, than the pleaſure of governing.

But to bring this diſcourſe towards a concluſion. If the Diſſenters will be ſatisfied with ſuch a toleration by law, as hath been granted them in England, I believe the majority of both houſes will fall readily in with it; farther it will be hard to perſuade this houſe of Commons, and perhaps much harder the next. For, to ſay the truth, we make a mighty difference here between ſuffering thiſtles to grow among us, and wearing them for poſies. We are fully convinced in our conſciences, that we ſhall always tolerate them; but not quite ſo fully that they will always tolerate us, when it comes to their turn; and we are the majority, and we are in poſſeſſion.

He who argues in defence of a law in force, not antiquated or obſolete, but lately enacted, is certainly on the ſafer ſide, and may be allowed to point out the dangers he conceives to foreſee in the abrogation of it.

For,

For, if the consequencs of repealing this clause should, at some time or other enable the Presbyterians to work themselves up into the national church; instead of uniting Protestants, it would sow eternal divisions among them. First, their own sects, which now lie dormant, would be soon at cuffs again with each other about power and preferment; and the dissenting Episcopals, perhaps discontented to such a degree, as upon some fair unhappy occasion, should be able to shake the firmest loyalty, which none can deny theirs to be.

Neither is it very difficult to conjecture, from some late proceedings, at what a rate this faction is like to drive, wherever it gets the whip and the seat. They have already set up courts of spiritual judicature in open contempt of the law: they send missionaries every where, without being invited, in order to convert the church of England folks to Christianity. They are as vigilant as I know who, to attend persons on their deathbeds, and for purposes much alike. And what practices such principles as these (with many other that might be invidious to mention) may spawn, when they are laid out to the sun, you may determine at leisure.

Lastly, Whether we are so entirely sure of their loyalty upon the present foot of government as you may imagine, their detractors make a question, which, however does, I think, by no means affect the body of Dissenters: but the instance produced is of some among their leading teachers in the north, who, having refused the abjuration-oath, yet continue their preaching, and have abundance of followers. The particulars are out of my head; but the fact is notorious enough, and I believe hath been published; I think it a pity, it hath not been remedied.

Thus

Thus I have fairly given you, Sir, my own opinion, as well as that of a great majority in both houſes here, relating to this weighty affair; upon which I am confident you may ſecurely reckon. I will leave you to make what uſe of it you pleaſe.

I am with great reſpect,

Dublin, Dec. 4.
1708.

SIR,

Yours, &c.

Some

Some ARGUMENTS against enlarging the power of Bishops in letting of Leases *.

Mihi credite, major hereditas venit unicuique vestrum in iisdem bonis a jure et a legibus, quam ab iis a quibus illa ipsa bona relicta sunt.
Cicero pro A. Cæcina.

Written in the year 1723.

IN handling this subject I shall proceed wholly upon the supposition, that of our party who profess themselves members of the church established, and under the apostolical government of bishops, to desire the continuance and transmission of it to posterity, at least in as good a condition as it is at present; because as this discourse is not calculated for Dissenters of any kind, so neither will it suit the talk or sentiment of those persons, who with the denomination of churchmen are oppressors of the inferior clergy, and perpetually quarrelling at the great incomes of the bishops; which is a traditional cant delivered

* This pamphlet is intermixed with those masterly strokes of irony, which are so often intermixed in Swift's works. The general subject of it leads me to recollect a circumstance much to the Dean's honour: he could never be induced to take fines for any of the chapter lands; he always chose to raise the rents, as the method least oppressive to the present tenant, and most advantageous to all future tenants and landlords. He constantly refused to give charity out of the chapter-funds, which he alledged were scarce sufficient to maintain the necessary repairs of the cathedral. *Orrery.*

down

down from former times, and continued with great reaſon, although it be now near two hundred years ſince almoſt three parts in four of the church-revenues have been taken from the clergy, beſides the ſpoils that have been gradually made ever ſince of glebes and other lands by the confuſion of times, the fraud of incroaching neighbours, or the power of oppreſſors too great to be encountered.

About the time of the reformation many Popiſh biſhops of this kingdom, knowing they muſt have been ſoon ejected if they would not change their religion, made long leaſes and fee-farms of great part of their lands, reſerving very inconſiderable rents, ſometimes only a chiefry, by a power they aſſumed directly contrary to many ancient canons, yet conſiſtent enough with the common law. This trade held on for many years after the biſhops became Proteſtants; and ſome of their names are ſtill remembered with infamy on account of enriching their families by ſuch ſacrilegious alienations. By theſe means Epiſcopal revenues were ſo low reduced, that three or four ſees were often united to make a tolerable competency. For ſome remedy to this evil, King James I. by a bounty that became a good Chriſtian prince, beſtowed ſeveral forfeited lands on the northern biſhoprics: but in all other parts of the kingdom the church continued ſtill in the ſame diſtreſs and poverty; ſome of the ſees hardly poſſeſſing enough to maintain a country-vicar. About the middle of King Charles I.'s reign the legiſlature here thought fit to put a ſtop at leaſt to any farther alienations; and ſo a law was enacted, prohibiting all biſhops and other eccleſiaſtical corporations from ſetting their lands for above the term of twenty-one years; the rent reſerved to be one half of the real value of ſuch lands at the time they were ſet, without which condition the leaſe to be void.

Soon-

Soon after the reſtoration of King Charles II. the parliament taking into conſideration the miſerable eſtate of the church, certain lands by way of augmentation were granted to eight biſhops in the act of ſettlement, and confirmed in the act of explanation; of which bounty, as I remember, three ſees were in a great meaſure defeated; but by what accidents, it is not here of any importance to relate.

This at preſent is the condition of the church in Ireland with regard to Epiſcopal revenues: which I have thus briefly (and perhaps imperfectly) deduced for ſome information to thoſe whoſe thoughts do not lead them to ſuch conſiderations.

By virtue of the ſtatute already mentioned, under King Charles I. limiting eccleſiaſtical bodies to the term of twenty-one years, under the reſerved rent of half real value, the biſhops have had ſome ſhare in the gradual riſe of lands, without which they could not have been ſupported with any common decency that might become their ſtation. It is above eighty years ſince the paſſing of that act: the ſee of Meath, one of the beſt in the kingdom, was then worth about 4000 l. *per annum*; the poorer ones in the ſame proportion. If this were their preſent condition, I cannot conceive how they would have been able to pay for their patents, or buy their robes: but this will certainly be the condition of their ſucceſſors, if ſuch a bill ſhould paſs, as they ſay is now intended, which I will ſuppoſe; and believe many perſons who may give a vote for it, are not aware of.

However, this is the act which is now attempted to be repealed, or at leaſt eluded; ſome are for giving biſhops leave to let fee-farms, others would allow them to let leaſes for lives; and the moſt moderate would repeal that clauſe, by which the biſhops are bound to let their lands at half-value.

The

The reaſons for the riſe of value in lands are of two kinds. Of the firſt kind, are long peace and ſettlement after the devaſtations of war; plantations, improvements of bad ſoil, recovery of bogs and marſhes, advancement of trade and manufactures, increaſe of inhabitants, encouragement of agriculture, and the like.

But there is another reaſon for the riſe of land, more gradual, conſtant, and certain; which will have its effects in countries that are very far from flouriſhing in any of the advantages I have juſt mentioned: I mean the perpetual decreaſe in the value of gold and ſilver. I ſhall diſcourſe upon theſe two different kinds with a view towards the bill now attempted.

As to the firſt? I cannot ſee how this kingdom is at any height of improvement, while four parts in five of the plantations for thirty years paſt have been real diſemprovements; nine in ten of the quick-ſet-hedges being ruined for want of care or ſkill. And as to foreſt-trees, they being often taken out of woods, and planted in ſingle rows on the tops of ditches, it is impoſſible they ſhould grow to be of uſe, beauty, or ſhelter. Neither can it be ſaid, that the ſoil of Ireland is improved to its full height, while ſo much lies all winter under water, and the bogs made almoſt deſperate by the ill cutting of the turf. There hath indeed been ſome little improvement in the manufactures of linen and woollen, although very ſhort of perfection; but our trade was never in ſo low a condition: and as to agriculture, of which all wiſe nations have been ſo tender, the deſolation made in the country by ingroſſing graziers, and the great yearly importation of corn from England, are lamentable inſtances under what diſcouragement it lies.

But, notwithſtanding all theſe mortifications, I ſuppoſe there is no wellwiſher to his country without a little hope, that in time the kingdom may be

on

on a better foot in some of the articles above mentioned. But it would be hard, if ecclesiastical bodies should be the only persons excluded from any share in public advantages, which yet can never happen, without a greater share of profit to their tenants: if God *sends rain equally upon the just and unjust*, why should those who wait at his altars, and are instructors of the people, be cut off from partaking in the general benefits of law or of nature?

But, as this way of reasoning may seem to bear a more favourable eye to the clergy, than perhaps will suit with the present disposition or fashion of the age; I shall therefore dwell more largely upon the second reason for the rise of land, which is *the perpetual decrease of the value of gold and silver*.

This may be observed from the course of the Roman history above two thousand years before those inexhaustible silver mines of Potosi were known. The value of an obulus, and of every other coin, between the time of Romulus and that of Augustus, gradually sunk above five parts in six, as appears by several passages out of the best authors. And yet the prodigious wealth of that state did not arise from the increase of bullion in the world by the discovery of new mines, but from a much more accidental case, which was the spreading of their conquest, and thereby importing into Rome and Italy the riches of the east and west.

When the seat of empire was removed to Constantinople, the tide of money flowed that way without ever returning; and was scattered in Asia. But when that mighty empire was overthrown by the northern people, such a stop was put to all trade and commerce, that vast sums of money were buried to escape the plundering of the conquerors; and what remained was carried off by those ravagers.

It were no difficult matter to compute the value of money in England during the Saxon reigns; but

the Monkish and other writers since the conque have put that matter in a clearer light, by the seve ral accounts they have given us of the value c corn and cattle in years of dearth and plenty. Ever one knows that King John's whole portion, befor he came to the crown, was but five thousan pounds, without a foot of land.

I have likewise seen the steward's accounts of a ancient noble family in England written in Lati between three and four hundred years ago, with th several prices of wine and victuals, to confirm m observations.

I have been at the trouble of computing (as othe have done) the different values of money for abo four hundred years past. Henry Duke of Lanc ster, who lived about that period, founded an ho pital in Leicester for a certain number of old me charging his lands with a groat a-week to each f their maintenance, which is to this day duly pa them. In those times, a penny was equal to t pence halfpenny, and somewhat more than half farthing of ours; which makes about eight ninth difference.

This is plain also from the old custom upon ma estates in England to let for leases of lives, (renew able at pleasure), where the reserved rent is usual about twelpence a pound, which then was near th half real value: and although the fines be not fi ed, yet the landlord gets altogether not above thr shillings in the pound of the worth of his land: ar the tenants are so wedded to this custom, that the owner suffer three lives to expire, none of the will take a lease on other conditions; or if he bring in a foreigner who will agree to pay a reasonab rent, the other tenants by all manner of injuri will make that foreigner so uneasy, that he must l forced to quit the farm; as the late Earl of Ba felt by the experience of above ten thousands poun loss.

Th

The gradual decreaſe for about two hundred ears after was not conſiderable, and therefore I do ot rely on the account given by ſome hiſtorians, hat Harry VII. left behind him eighteen hundred houſand pounds; for, although the Weſt Indies ere diſcovered before his death, and although he ad the beſt talents and inſtruments for exacting f money ever poſſeſſed by any prince ſince the time f Veſpaſian (whom he reſembled in many particurs), yet I conceive, that in his days the whole coin f England could hardly amount to ſuch a ſum. or in the reign of Philip and Mary, Sir ——— ockain of Derbyſhire, the beſt houſekeeper of is quality in the county, allowed his lady fifty ounds a-year for maintaining the family, one pound -year wages to each ſervant, and two pounds to the eward; as I was told by a perſon of quality who ad ſeen the original account of his œconomy. ow, this ſum of fifty pounds, added to the advanages of a large domain, might be equal to about ve hundred pounds a-year at preſent, or ſomehat more than four fifths.

The great plenty of ſilver in England began in ueen Eliſabeth's reign, when Drake and others ook vaſt quantities of coin and bullion from the paniards either upon their own American coaſts, r in their return to Spain. However, ſo much ath been imported annually from that time to this, hat the value of money in England, and moſt parts f Europe, is ſunk above one half within the ſpace f an hundred years, notwithſtanding the great xport of ſilver for about eighty years paſt to the aſt Indies, from whence it never returns. But gold ot being liable to the ſame accident, and by new iſcoveries growing every day more plentiful, ſeems danger of becoming a drug.

This hath been the progreſs of the value of moey in former ages, and muſt of neceſſity continue o for the future, without ſome new invaſion of

Goths and Vandals to deſtroy law, property, and religion, alter the very face of nature, and turn the world upſide down.

I muſt repeat, that what I am to ſay upon the ſubject is intended only for the conviction of thoſe among our own party, who are true lovers of the church, and would be glad it ſhould continue in a tolerable degree of proſperity to the end of the world.

The church is ſuppoſed to laſt for ever both in its diſcipline and doctrine; which is a privilege common to every petty corporation, who muſt likewiſe obſerve the laws of their foundation. If a gentleman's eſtate, which now yields him a thouſand pounds a-year, had been ſet for ever at the higheſt value, even in the flouriſhing days of King Charles II. would it now amount to above four or five hundred at moſt? What if this had happened two or three hundred years ago; would the reſerved rent at this day be any more than a ſmall chiefry? Suppoſe the revenues of a biſhop to have been under the ſame circumſtances; could he now be able to perform works of hoſpitality and charity? Thus, if the revenues of a biſhop be limited to a thouſand pounds a-year; how will his ſucceſſor be in a condition to ſupport his ſtation with decency, when the ſame denomination of money ſhall not anſwer an half, a quarter, or an eighth part of that ſum? Which muſt unavoidably be the conſequence of any bill to elude the limiting act, whereby the church was preſerved from utter ruin.

The ſame reaſon holds goods in all corporations whatſoever, who cannot follow a more pernicious practice than that of granting perpetuities, for which many of them ſmart to this day; although the leaders among them are often ſo ſtupid as not to perceive it, or ſometimes ſo knaviſh as to find their private account in cheating the community.

Several

Several colleges in Oxford were aware of this growing evil about an hundred years ago; and inſtead of limiting their rents to a certain ſum of money, prevailed with their tenants to pay the price of ſo many barrels of corn to be valued as the market went at two ſeaſons (as I remember) in the year. For a barrel of corn is of a real intrinſic value, which gold and ſilver are not: and by this invention theſe colleges have preſerved a tolerable ſubſiſtence for their fellows and ſtudents to this day.

The preſent biſhops will indeed be no ſufferers by ſuch a bill; becauſe, their ages conſidered, they cannot expect to ſee any great decreaſe in the value of money; or at worſt they can make it up in the fines, which will probably be greater than uſual upon the change of leaſes into fee-farms or lives; or without the power of obliging their tenants to a real half-value. And, as I cannot well blame them for taking ſuch advantages (conſidering the nature of humankind), when the queſtion is only, whether the money ſhall be put into their own or another man's pocket? ſo they will never be excuſable before God or man, if they do not to their death oppoſe, declare, and proteſt againſt any ſuch bill, as muſt in its conſequences complete the ruin of the church, and of their own order in this kingdom.

If the fortune of a private perſon be diminiſhed by the weakneſs or inadvertency of his anceſtors, in letting leaſes for ever at low rents, the world lies open to his induſtry for purchaſing of more; but the church is barred by a dead hand; or if it were otherwiſe, yet the caſtom of making bequeſts to it hath been out of practice for almoſt two hundred years, and a great deal directly contrary hath been its fortune.

I have been aſſured by a perſon of ſome conſequence, to whom I am likewiſe obliged for the account of ſome other facts already related, that the

late * Biſhop of Saliſbury (the greateſt Whig of that bench in his days) confeſſed to him, that the liberty which Biſhops in England have of letting leaſes for lives, would, in his opinion, be one day the ruin of Epiſcopacy there; and thought the church in this kingdom happy by the limitation-act.

And have we not already found the effect of this different proceeding in both kingdoms? Have not two Engliſh prelates quitted their peerage and ſeats in parliament, in a nation of freedom, for the ſake of a more ample revenue, even in this unhappy kingdom, rather than lie under the mortification of living below their dignity at home? for which however they cannot be juſtly cenſured. I know indeed ſome perſons, who offer as an argument for repealing the limiting-bill, that it may in future ages prevent the practice of providing this kingdom with biſhops from England, when the only temptation will be removed. And they alledge, that, as things have gone for ſome years paſt, gentlemen will grow diſcouraged from ſending their ſons to the univerſity, and from ſuffering them to enter into holy orders, when they are likely to languiſh under a curacy or ſmall vicarage to the end of their lives: but this is all a vain imagination; for the decreaſe in the value of money will equally affect both kingdoms: and beſides, when biſhoprics here grow too ſmall, to invite over men of credit and conſequence, they will be left more fully to the diſpoſal of a chief governor, who can never fail of ſome worthleſs illiterate chaplain, fond of a title and precedence. Thus will that whole bench in an age or two be compoſed of mean, ignorant, fawning gownmen, humble ſuppliants and dependents upon the court for a morſel of bread, and ready to ſerve every turn that ſhall be demanded

* Dr. Burnet.

from

rom them in hopes of getting ſome *commendam* tack-
d to their fees; which muſt then be the trade, as
t is now too much in England, to the great diſcou-
agement of the inferior clergy. Neither is that
ractice without example among us.

It is now about eighty-five years ſince the paſſing
f that limiting-act, and there is but one inſtance
n the memory of man of a biſhop's leaſe broken
ipon the plea of not being ſtatutable; which, in
very body's opinion, could have been loſt by no o-
her perſon than he who was then tenant, and hap-
ened to be very ungracious in his county. In the
reſent * Biſhop of Meath's caſe that plea did not
vail, although the leaſe were notoriouſly unſtatut-
ble; the rent reſerved being, as I have been told,
ot a ſeventh part of the real value; yet the jury
ipon their oaths very gravely found it to be accord-
ing to the ſtatute; and one of them was heard to
ſay, that he would "eat his ſhoes" before he would
give a verdict for the biſhop. A very few more
have made the ſame attempt with as little ſucceſs.
Every biſhop and other eccleſiaſtical body reckon
forty pounds in an hundred to be a reaſonable half-
value; or if it be only a third part, it ſeldom or
never breeds any difference between landlord and
tenant. But when the rent is from five to nine or
ten parts leſs than the worth, the biſhop, if he con-
ſults the good of his ſee, will be apt to expoſtulate;
and the tenant, if he be an honeſt man, will have
ſome regard to the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of the
demand, ſo as to yield to a moderate advancement,
rather than engage in a ſuit, where law and equity
are directly againſt him. By theſe means the bi-
ſhops have been ſo true to their truſts, as to pro-
cure ſome ſmall ſhare in the advancement of rents;
although it be notorious, that they do not receive

* Dr. Evans a Welchman.

the

the third penny (fines included) of the real value of their lands throughout the kingdom.

I was never able to imagine what inconvenience could accrue to the public by one or two thousand pounds a-year in the hands of a Proteſtant biſhop any more than of a lay perſon *. The former, generally ſpeaking, liveth as piouſly and hoſpitably as the other; pays his debts as honeſtly, and ſpends as much of his revenue among his tenants: beſides, if they be his immediate tenants, you may diſtinguiſh them at firſt ſight by their habits and horſes; or if you go to their houſes, by their comfortable way of living. But the misfortune is, that ſuch immediate tenants, generally ſpeaking, have others under them, and ſo a third and fourth under them; and ſo a third and fourth in ſubordination, till it comes to the welder, (as they call him), who fits as a rack-rent, and lives as miſerably as any Iriſh farmer upon a new leaſe from a lay landlord. But ſuppoſe a biſhop happens to be avaricious, (as being compoſed of the ſame ſtuff with other men), the conſequence to the public is no worſe than if he were a ſquire; for he leaves his fortune to his ſon or near relation, who, if he be rich enough, will never think of entering into the church.

And as there can be no diſadvantage to the public in a Proteſtant country, that a man ſhould hold lands as a biſhop, any more than if he were a temporal perſon; ſo it is of great advantage to the community, where a biſhop leaves as he ought to do. He is bound in conſcience to reſide in his dioceſe, and by a ſolemn promiſe to keep hoſpitality; his eſtate is ſpent in the kingdom, not remitted to England; he keeps the clergy to their duty, and is an example of virtue both to them and the people.

* This part of the paragraph is to be applied to the period when the whole was written, which was in 1723, when ſeveral of Queen Anne's biſhops were living.

Suppoſe

Suppose him an ill man; yet his very character will with-hold him from any great or open exorbitancies. But in fact it must be allowed that some bishops of this kingdom within twenty years past, have done very signal and lasting acts of public charity; great instances whereof are the late * and present † Primate, and the Lord ‡ Archbishop of Dublin that now is, who hath left memorials of his bounty in many parts of his province. I might add the Bishop of Raphoe ‖, and several others: not forgetting the late Dean of Down, Dr. Pratt, who bestowed one thousand pounds upon the university; which foundation, (that I may observe by the way), if the bill proposed should pass, would be in the same circumstances with the Bishops, nor ever able again to advance the stipends of the fellows and students, as lately they found it necessary to do; the determinate sum appointed by the statutes for commons being not half sufficient, by the fall of money, to afford necessary sustenance. But the passing of such a bill must put an end to all ecclesiastical beneficence for the time to come; and whether this will be supplied by those who are to reap the benefit, better than it hath been done by the grantees of impropriate tithes, who received them upon the old church-conditions of keeping hospitality, it will be easy to conjecture.

To alledge, that passing such a bill would be a good encouragement to improve bishops lands, is a great error. Is it not the general method of landlords to wait the expiration of a lease, and then cant their lands to the highest bidder? And what should hinder the same course to be taken in church-leases, when the limitation is removed of paying half the real value to the Bishop? in riding through the country how few improvements do we see upon the

* Dr. Marsh.
† Dr. Lindsay.
‡ Dr. King.
‖ Dr. Foster.

estates

eſtates of laymen, farther than about their own domains? To ſay the truth, it is a great misfortune as well to the public as to the biſhops themſelves, that their lands are generally let to lords and great ſquires, who in reaſon were never deſigned to be tenants; and therefore may naturally murmur at the payment of rent, as a ſubſerviency they were not born to. If the tenants to the church were honeſt farmers, they would pay their fines and rents with chearfulneſs, improve their lands, and thank God they were to give but a moderate half-value for what they held. I have heard a man of a thouſand pounds a-year talk with great contempt of biſhops leaſes, as being on a worſe foot than the reſt of his eſtate; and he had certainly reaſon: my anſwer was, that ſuch leaſes were originally intended only for the benefit of induſtrious huſbandmen, who would think it a great bleſſing to be ſo provided for, inſtead of having his farm ſcrewed up to the height, not eating one comfortable meal in a year, nor able to find ſhoes for his children.

I know not any advantage that can accrue by ſuch a bill, except the preventing of perjury in jurymen, and falſe dealing in tenants; which is a remedy like that of giving my money to a highwayman, before he attempts to take it by force; and ſo I ſhall be ſure to prevent the ſin of robbery.

I had wrote thus far, and thought to have made an end; when a bookſeller ſent me a ſmall pamphlet, intitled, "The caſe of the laity, with ſome queries;" full of the ſtrongeſt malice againſt the clergy, that I have any where met with ſince the reign of Toland, and others of that tribe. Theſe kinds of advocates do infinite miſchief to OUR GOOD CAUSE by giving grounds to the unjuſt reproaches of TORIES and JACOBITES, who charge us with being enemies to the church. If I bear an hearty unfeigned loyalty to his Majeſty King GEORGE and the houſe of Hanover, not ſhaken in

in the leaſt by the hardſhips we lie under, which never can be imputable to ſo gracious a prince; if I ſincerely abjure the PRETENDER, and all POPISH SUCCESSORS; if I bear a due veneration to the glorious memory of the late King WILLIAM, who preſerved theſe kingdoms from POPERY and SLAVERY, with the expenſe of his blood, and hazard of his life; and laſtly, if I am for a proper indulgence to all Diſſenters, I think nothing more can be reaſonably demanded of me as a WHIG, and that my political catechiſm is full and complete. But whoever, under the ſhelter of that party-denomination, and of many great profeſſions of loyalty, would deſtroy, or undermine, or injure, the CHURCH eſtabliſhed; I utterly diſown him, and think he ought to chuſe another name of diſtinction for himſelf and his adherents. I came into the cauſe upon other principles, which by the grace of God I mean to preſerve as long as I can live. Shall we juſtify the accuſations of our adverſaries? *Hoc Ithacus velit.*——The TORIES and JACOBITES will behold us, with a malicious pleaſure, determined upon the ruin of our friends. For is not the preſent ſet of biſhops almoſt entirely of that number, as well as a great majority of the principal clergy? And a ſhort time will reduce the whole by vacancies upon death.

An impartial reader, if he pleaſes to examine what I have already ſaid, will eaſily anſwer the bold queries in the pamphlet I mentioned; he will be convinced, that the reaſon ſtill ſtrongly exiſts, for which that limiting law was enacted. A reaſonable man will wonder, where can be the inſufferable grievance, that an eccleſiaſtical landlord ſhould expect a moderate or a third part value in rent for his lands, when his title is at leaſt as ancient and as legal as that of a layman; who is yet but ſeldom guilty of giving ſuch beneficial bargains. Has the nation been thrown into confuſion? And have ma-

ny

ny poor families been ruined by rack-rents paid fo
the lands of the church? does the nation cry ou
to have a law that must in time send their bishop
a-begging? But, God be thanked, the clamours c
enemies to the church is not yet the cry, and
hope will never prove the voice of the nation. Th
clergy, I conceive, will hardly allow that the peopl
maintain them, any more than in the sense that a
landlords whatsoever are maintained by the peopl
Such assertions as these, and the insinuations the
carry along with them, proceed from principle
which cannot be avowed by those who are for pre
serving the happy constitution in church and stat
Whoever were the proposers of such queries, it migh
have provoked a bold writer to retaliate, perhap
with more justice than prudence, by shewing
whose door the grievance lies, and that the bishop
at least are not to answer for the poverty of te
nants.

To gratify this great reformer, who enlarges th
Episcopal rent-roll almost one half, let me suppos
that all the church-lands in the kingdom wer
thrown up to the laity: would the tenants in suc
a case sit easier in their rents than they do now
Or, would the money be equally spent in th
kingdom? No; the farmer would be screwed up
to the utmost penny by the agents and stewards o
absentees, and the revenues employed in making
figure at London; to which city a full third par
of the whole income of Ireland is annually return
ed, to answer that single article of maintenance fo
Irish landlords.

Another of his quarrels is against pluralities and
non-residence. As to the former, it is a word o
ill name, but not well understood. The clergy
having been stripped of the greatest part of their
revenues, the glebes being generally lost, the tithes
in the hands of laymen, the churches demolished,
and the country depopulated; in order to preserve
a face

t face of chriſtianity, it was neceſſary to unite ſmall vicarages ſufficient to make a tolerable main-enance for a miniſter. The profit of ten or a doz-n of theſe unions ſeldom amounts to above eighty or an hundred pounds a-year. If there be a very ew dignitaries, whoſe preferments are perhaps more iable to this accuſation, it is to be ſuppoſed, they ay be favourites of the time; or perſons of ſuperior erit, for whom there hath ever been ſome indul-ence in all governments.

As to non-reſidence, I believe there is no Chriſ-an country upon earth, where the clergy have leſs o anſwer for upon that article. I am confident ere are not ten clergymen in the kingdom, who, roperly ſpeaking, can be termed *non-reſidents*; for rely we are not to reckon in that number thoſe ho, for want of glebes are forced to retire to the eareſt neighbouring village for a cabin to put their eads in; the leading man of the pariſh, when he akes the greateſt clamour, being leaſt diſpoſed to ccomodate the miniſter with an acre of ground. nd indeed, conſidering the difficulties the clergy e under upon this head, it hath been frequent atter of wonder to me, how they are able to per-rm that part of their duty ſo well as they do.

There is a * noble author, who hath lately ad-reſſed to the houſe of Commons an excellent diſ-ourſe for the *encouragement of agriculture*; full of oſt uſeful hints, which, I hope, that honourable ſembly will conſider as they deſerve. I am not a ranger to his Lordſhip; and excepting in what lates to the church, there are few perſons with hoſe opinions I am better pleaſed to agree; and n therefore grieved when I find him charging the conveniencies in the payment of tithes upon the ergy and their proctors. His Lordſhip is above nſidering a very known and vulgar truth, that

* The late Lord Moleſworth.

the meaneſt farmer hath all manner of advantages againſt the moſt powerful clergymen, by whom it is impoſſible he can be wronged, although the miniſter were ever ſo evil diſpoſed; the whole ſyſtem of teizing, perplexing, and defrauding the proctor, or his maſter, being as well known to every ploughman, as the reaping or ſowing of his corn, and much more artfully practiſed. Beſides, the leading man in the pariſh muſt have his tithes at his own rate, which is hardly ever above one quarter of the value. And I have heard it computed by many ſkilful obſervers, whoſe intereſt was not concerned, that the clergy did not receive throughout the kingdom one half of what the laws have made their due.

As to his Lordſhip's diſcontent againſt the biſhops court, I ſhall not interpoſe farther than in venturing my private opinion, that the clergy would be very glad to recover their juſt dues by a more ſhort, deciſive, and compulſive method, than ſuch a cramped and limited juriſdiction will allow.

His Lordſhip is not the only perſon diſpoſed to give the clergy the honour of being the ſole encouragers of all new improvements. If hops, hemp, flax, and twenty things more are to be planted, the clergy alone muſt reward the induſtrious farmer by abatement of the tithe. What if the owner of nine parts in ten would pleaſe to abate proportionably in his rent, for every acre thus improved? Would not a man juſt dropt from the clouds, upon a full hearing, judge the demand to be at leaſt as reaſonable?

I believe no man will diſpute his Lordſhip's title to his eſtate; nor will I the *jus divinum* of tithes, which he mentions with ſome emotion. I ſuppoſe the affirmative would be of little advantage to the clergy, for the ſame reaſon that a maxim in law hath more weight in the world than an article of faith. And yet I think there may be ſuch a thing

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as facrilege; becauſe it is frequently mentioned by Greek and Roman authors, as well as deſcribed in holy writ. This I am ſure of, that his Lordſhip would at any time excuſe a Parliament for not concerning itſelf in his properties without his own conſent.

The obſervations I have made upon his Lordſhip's diſcourſe, have not, I confeſs, been altogether proper to my ſubject: however, ſince he hath been pleaſed therein to offer ſome propoſals to the houſe of Commons with relation to the clergy, I hope he will excuſe me for differing from him: which proceeds, from his own principle, the deſire of defending liberty and property, that he hath ſo ſtrenuouſly and conſtantly maintained.

But the other writer openly declares for a law impowering the biſhops to ſet fee-farms; and ſays, 'Whoever intimates, that they will deny their 'conſent to ſuch a reaſonable law, which the 'whole nation cries for, are enemies to them and 'the church." Whether this be his real opinion, or only a ſtrain of mirth and irony, the matter is not much. However, my ſentiments are ſo directly contrary to his, that, I think, whoever impartially reads and conſiders what I have written upon this argument, hath either no regard for the church eſtabliſhed under the hierarchy of biſhops, or will never conſent to any law that ſhall repeal or elude the limiting clauſe relating to the real half-value, contained in the act of parliament *decimo Caroli*, 'for the preſervation of the inheritance, rights, 'and profits of lands belonging to the church 'and perſons eccleſiaſtical;" which was grounded upon reaſons, that do ſtill and muſt for ever ſubſiſt.

October 21.
1723.

The PRESBYTERIANS Plea of Merit, in order to take off the TEST, impartially examined.

Written in the year 1731 *.

WE have been told in the common news-papers, that all attempts are to be made this ſeſſion by the Preſbyterians and their abettors for taking off the teſt; as a kind of preparatory ſtep to make it go down ſmoother in England. For if once *their light would ſo ſhine*, the Papiſts delighted with the blaze would all come in and dance about it. This I take to be a prudent method like that of a diſcreet phyſician, who firſt gives a new medicine to a dog, before he preſcribes it to a human creature †.

The

* See a letter on this ſubject, p. 132. of this volume; which was reprinted in Ireland on the ſame occaſion that produced this and the three following tracts.

† The author begins this tract in the true vein of wit and ſpirit, by ſaying,——"We have been told in the common news-papers, "that all attempts are to be made this ſeſſion by the Preſbyterians "and their abettors for taking off the teſt; as a kind of preparatory "ſtep to make it go down ſmoother in England. For if once *their "light would ſo ſhine*, the Papiſts delighted with the blaze would "all come in and dance about it. This I take to be a prudent me-"thod; like that of a diſcreet phyſician, who firſt gives a new me-"dicine to a *dog*, before he preſcribes it to a human creature."—— I have quoted this ſhort paſſage for the ſtyle, as well as the matter; and I dare ſay, even from hence you will be confirmed in one general obſervation, that Swift maintains and conducts his metaphors and alluſions, with a juſtneſs particularly delicate and exact, and without the

The Presbyterians have, ever since the revolution, directed their learned casuists to employ their pens on this subject, by shewing the merits and pretensions upon which they claim this justice, as founded upon the services they did towards the restoration of King Charles II. and at the revolution under the Prince of Orange. Which pleas I take to be the most singular in their kind, that ever were offered in the face of the sun, against the most glaring lights of truth, and against a continuation of public facts known to all Europe for twenty years together. I shall therefore impartially examine the merits and conduct of the Presbyterians upon those two great events, and the pretensions to favour which they challenge upon them.

Soon after the reformation of the church in England under Edward VI. upon Queen Mary's succeeding to the crown (who restored Popery), many Protestants fled out of England to escape the persecution raised against the church, as her brother had left it established. Some of these exiles went to Geneva; which city had received the doctrine of Calvin, and rejected the government of bishops; with many other refinements. These English exiles readily embraced the Geneva system; and having added further improvements of their own, upon Queen Mary's death returned to England; where they preached up their new opinions, inveighing bitterly against Episcopacy, and all rites and ceremonies, however innocent and ancient in the church: building upon this foundation, to run as far as possible from Popery even in the most minute and indifferent circumstances. This faction,

t least stiffness or affectation. I have formerly mentioned in what degree of contempt and hatred he held the Dissenters, especially the Presbyterians [above, p. 133.]; and I need only add, that as this pamphlet was written for the meridian of Ireland, it ought to have been placed with the other tracts on the same subject. *Orrery.*—And so it is placed in this edition.

under the name of Puritan, became very turbulent during the whole reign of Queen Eliſabeth, and were always diſcouraged by that wiſe Queen, as well as by her two ſucceſſors. However, their numbers as well as their inſolence and perverſeneſs ſo far increaſed, that ſoon after the death of King James I. many inſtances of their petulancy and ſcurrility are to be ſeen in their pamphlets written for ſome years after (which was a trade they began in the days of Queen Elizabeth), particularly with great rancour againſt the biſhops, the habits and the ceremonies: ſuch were thoſe ſcurrilous libels under the title of Martin Mar prelate, and ſeveral others. And although the Ear of Clarendon tells us, until the year 1640 (as I remember) the kingdom was in a ſtate of perfect peace and happineſs, without the leaſt appearance of thought or deſign towards making any alterations in religion or government; yet I have found by often rummaging for old books in Little Britain and Ducklane, a great number of pamphlets printed from the year 1630 to 1640, full of as bold and impious railing expreſſions againſt the lawful power of the crown, and the order of biſhops, as ever were uttered during the rebellion or the whole ſubſequent tyrrany of that fanatic anarchy. However I find it manifeſt, that Puritaniſm did not erect itſelf into a new ſeparate ſpecies of religion till ſome time after the rebellion began. For in the latter times of King James I. and the former part of his ſon, there were ſeveral Puritan biſhops, and many Puritan private clergymen; while people went as their inclinations led them to hear preachers of each party in the pariſh churches; for the Puritan clergy had received Epiſcopal orders as well as the reſt. But ſoon after the rebellion broke out, the term Puritan gradually dropt, and that of Preſbyterian ſucceeded; which ſect was in two or three years eſtabliſhed in all its forms, by what they called an ordinance of

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the Lords and Commons, without consulting the King, who was then at war against his rebels. And from this period the church continued under persecution, until monarchy was restored in the year 1660.

In a year or two after we began to hear of a new party risen, and growing in the parliament as well as the army, under the name of Independent: it spread indeed somewhat more in the latter; but not equal with the Presbyterians either in weight or number, until the very time the King was murdered.

When the King, who was then a prisoner in the isle of Wight, had made his last concessions for a peace to the commissioners of the parliament, who attended him there; upon their return to London, they reported his Majesty's answer in the house. Whereupon a number of moderate members, who, as Ludlow says, had secured their own terms with that prince, managed with so much art as to obtain a majority in a thin house, for passing a vote, that *the King's concessions were a ground for a future settlement*. But the great officers of the army, joining with the discontented members, came to a resolution of excluding all those who had consented to that vote; which they executed in a military way. Ireton told Fairfax the general, a rigid Presbyterian, of this resolution; who thereupon issued his orders for drawing out the army the next morning, and placing guards in Westminster-hall, the court of requests, and the lobby; who, in obedience to the General, in conjunction with those members who had opposed the vote, would let no member enter the house except those of their own party. Upon which the question for bringing the King to justice was immediately put, and carried without opposition that I can find. Then an order was made for his trial; the time and place appointed; the judges named, of whom Fairfax himself was one; altho'

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by the advice or threats of his wife he declined sitting among them. However, by fresh orders under his own hand, which I have seen in print, he appointed guards to attend the judges at the trial, and to keep the city in quiet; as he did likewise to prevent any opposition from the people upon the day of execution.

From what I have already deduced it appears manifest, that the differences between those two sects, Presbyterian and Independent, did not then amount to half so much as what there is between a Whig and Tory at present among us. The design of utterly extirpating monarchy and Episcopacy was equally the same in both: evidently the consequence of the very same principles, upon which the Presbyterians alone began, continued, and would have ended in the same events; if towards the conclusion they had not been bearded by that new party, with whom they could not agree about dividing the spoil. However, they held a good share of civil and military employments during the whole time of the usurpation; and their names, actions, and preferments, are frequent in the accounts of those times. For I make no doubt, that all the prudent Presbyterians complied in proper seasons, falling in with the stream; and thereby got that share in employments which many of them held to the restoration; and perhaps too many of them after. In the same manner we find our wisest Tories in both kingdoms, upon the change of hands and measures at the Queen's death, have endeavoured for several years by due compliances to recover the time they had lost by a temporary obstinacy; wherein they have well succeeded, according to their degrees of merit; of whose names I could here make honourable mention, if I did not fear it might offend their modesty. As to what is alledged, that some of the Presbyterians declared openly against the King's murder; I allow it to be true. But from what motives?

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No other can poſſibly be aſſigned than perfect ſpite, rage, and envy, to find themſelves wormed out of all power by a new infant-ſpawn of Independents ſprung from their own bowels. It is true, the differences in religious tenets between them are very few and trifling; the chief quarrel, as far as I remember, relating to congregational and national aſſemblies. But where-ever intereſt or power think fit to interfere, it little imports what principles the oppoſite parties think fit to charge upon each other: for we ſee at this day, that the Tories are more hated by the whole ſet of zealous Whigs, than the very Papiſts themſelves; and in effect as much unqualified for the ſmalleſt office: although both theſe parties aſſert themſelves to be of the ſame religion in all its branches of doctrine and diſcipline; and profeſs the ſame loyalty to the ſame Proteſtant King and his heirs.

If the reader would know what became of this Independent party, upon whom all the miſchief is charged by their Preſbyterian brethren, he may pleaſe to obſerve, that during the whole uſurpation they contended by degrees with their parent ſect, and, as I have already ſaid, ſhared in employments; and gradually, after the reſtoration, mingled with the maſs of Preſbyterians; lying ever ſince undiſtinguiſhed in the herd of Diſſenters.

The Preſbyterian merit is of as little weight, when they alledge themſelves inſtrumental towards the King's reſtoration. The kingdom grew tired with thoſe ridiculous models of government; firſt, by a houſe of Lords and Commons without a King; then without Biſhops; afterwards by a Rump* and Lords Temporal; then by a Rump alone; next by a ſingle perſon for life, in conjunction with

* This name was given to that part of the houſe of Commons, which remained after the moderate men had been expelled by military force.

a Council; by Agitators; by Major-generals; by a new kind of Repreſentatives from the three kingdoms; by the Keepers of the Liberties of England; with other ſchemes that have ſlipt out of my memory. Cromwell was dead; his ſon Richard, a weak ignorant wretch, who gave up his monarchy much in the ſame manner with the two uſurping Kings of Brentford †; the people haraſſed with taxes and other oppreſſions. The King's party then called the *Cavaliers*, began to recover their ſpirits. The few nobility ſcattered through the kingdom, who lived in a moſt retired manner, obſerving the confuſion of things, could no longer endure to be ridden by bakers, coblers, brewers, and the like, at the head of armies, and plundering every where like French dragoons. The *Rump* aſſembly grew deſpicable to thoſe who had raiſed them: the city of London exhauſted by almoſt twenty years contributing to their own ruin, declared againſt them. The *Rump*, after many deaths and reſurrections, was in the moſt contemptuous manner kicked out, and burnt in effigy. The excluded members were let in: a free parliament called in as legal a manner as the times would allow; and the King reſtored.

The ſecond claim of Preſbyterian merit is founded upon their ſervices againſt the dangerous deſigns of King James II. while that prince was uſing all his endeavours to introduce Popery, which he openly profeſſed upon his coming to the crown; to this they add their eminent ſervices at the revolution under the Prince of Orange.

Now, the *quantum* of Preſbyterian merit during the four years reign of that weak, bigotted, and ill-adviſed prince, as well as at the time of the revolution, will eaſily be computed by a recourſe to a great number of hiſtories, pamphlets, and public

† In the Rehearſal.

papers,

papers, printed in thoſe times, and ſome afterwards; beſides the verbal teſtimonies of many perſons yet alive, who are old enough to have known and obſerved the diſſenters conduct in that critical period.

It is agreed, that upon King Charles II.'s death, ſoon after his ſucceſſor had publickly owned himſelf a Roman Catholic, he began with his firſt caſſes to the church-party; from whom having received cery cold diſcouraging anſwers, he applied o the Preſbyterian leaders and teachers; being adviſed by his prieſts and Popiſh courtiers, that the afeſt methods towards introducing his own religion would be by taking off the ſacramental teſt, nd giving a full liberty of conſcience to all religions, (I ſuppoſe that profeſſed Chriſtianity.) It eems that the Preſbyterians in the latter years of King Charles II. upon account of certain plots allowed by Biſhop Burnet to be genuine) had been or a ſhort time forbid to hold their conventicles. Whereupon theſe charitable Chriſtians, out of perect reſentment againſt the church, received the racious offers of King James with the ſtrongeſt rofeſſions of loyalty, and higheſt acknowledgements for his favour. I have ſeen ſeveral of their ddreſſes, full of thanks and praiſes, with bitter inſinuations of what they had ſuffered; putting themſelves and the Papiſts upon the ſame foot, as fellow-ſufferers for conſcience; and with the ſtyle of *our brethren the Roman Catholics*. About this me began the project of cloſeting, (which hath nce been practiſed many times with more art and ucceſs), where the principal gentlemen of the kingom were privately chatechiſed by his Majeſty, to now, whether, if a new parliament were called, ey would agree to paſs an act for repealing the ſacramental teſt, and eſtabliſhing a general liberty of onſcience. But he received ſo little encouragement, that deſpairing of ſucceſs, he had recourſe

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to his dispensing power, which the judges had determined to be part of his prerogative. By colour of this determination he preferred several Presbyterians, and many Papists, to civil and military employments. While the King was thus busied, it is well known that Monsier Fagel, the Dutch envoy in London, delivered the opinion of the Prince and Princess of Orange, concerning the repeal of the test; whereof the King had sent an account to their Highnesses, to know how far they approved of it. The substance of their answer, as reported by Fagel, was this, "That their Highnesses thought "very well of a liberty of conscience; but by no "means of giving employments to any other persons than those who were of the national church." This opinion was confirmed by several reasons: I cannot be more particular, not having the paper by me, although it hath been printed in many accounts of those times. And thus much every moderate churchman would perhaps submit to: but to trust any part of the civil power in the hands of those whose interest, inclination, conscience, and former practices have been wholly turned to introduce a different system of religion and government, hath very few examples in any Christian state; nor any at all in Holland, the great patroness of universal toleration.

Upon the first intelligence King James received of an intended invasion by the Prince of Orange, among great numbers of Papists to increase his troops, he gave commissions to several Presbyterians; some of whom had been officers under the *Rump*; and particularly he placed one Richards, a noted Presbyterian, at the head of a regiment, who had been governor of Wexford in Cromwell's time, and is often mentioned by Ludlow in his memoirs. This regiment was raised in England against the Prince of Orange: the Colonel made his son a captain, whom I knew, and who was as zealous a Presbyterian

rian as his father. However, at the time of the Prince's landing, the father, eaſily foreſeeing how things would go, went over, like many others, to the Prince, who continued him in his regiment; but coming over a year or two after, to aſſiſt in the ſiege of Derry, he behaved himſelf ſo like either a coward or a traitor, that his regiment was taken from him.

I will now conſider the conduct of the church-party during the whole reign of that unfortunate King. They were ſo unanimous againſt promiſing to paſs an act for repealing the teſt, and eſtabliſhing a general liberty of conſcience, that the King durſt not truſt a parliament; but encouraged by the profeſſions of loyalty given him by his Preſbyterian friends, went on with his diſpenſing power.

The church-clergy at that time are allowed to have written the beſt collection of tracts againſt Popery, that ever appeared in England; which are to this day in the higheſt eſteem. But upon the ſtricteſt inquiry, I could never hear of above one or two papers publiſhed by the Preſbyterians at that time upon the ſubject. Seven great prelates (he of Canterbury among the reſt) were ſent to the Tower for preſenting a petition, wherein they deſired to be excuſed in not obeying an illegal command from the King. The Biſhop of London, Dr. Compton, was ſummoned before the commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical affairs, for not ſuſpending Dr. Sharp (afterwards Biſhop of York) by the King's command. If the Preſbyterians expreſſed the ſame zeal upon any occaſion, the inſtances of it are not, as I can find, left upon record, or tranſmitted by tradition. The proceedings againſt Magdalen college in Oxford, for refuſing to comply with the King's mandate for admitting a profeſſed Papiſt upon their foundation, are a ſtanding proof of the courage and firmneſs in religion ſhewn by that learned ſociety to the ruin of their fortunes. The Preſbyterians

know very well, that I could produce many more inſtances of the ſame kind. But theſe are enough in ſo ſhort a paper as I intend at preſent.

It is indeed very true, that after King William was ſettled on the Britiſh throne, the Preſbyterians began to appear, and offer their credentials, and demand favour: and the new King having been originally bred a Calviniſt, was deſirous enough to make them eaſy (if that would do it) by a legal toleration; although in his heart he never bore much affection to that ſect; nor deſigned to favour them farther than as it ſtood with the preſent ſcheme of politics; as I have long ſince been aſſured by the greateſt men of Whig principles at that time in England.

It is likewiſe true, nor will it be denied, that when the King was poſſeſſed of the Engliſh crown, and the remainder of the quarrel was left to be decided in this kingdom; the Preſbyterians wiſely choſe to join with the Proteſtant army, rather than with that of King James their old friend, whoſe affairs were then in a manner deſperate. They were wiſe enough to know, that this kingdom divided againſt itſelf could never prevail againſt the united power of England. They fought *pro aris et focis*: for their eſtates and religion; which latter will never ſuffer ſo much by the church of England, as by that of Rome, where they are counted heretics as well as we: and conſequently they have no other game to play. But what merit they can build upon having joined with a Proteſtant army, under a King they acknowledged, to defend their own liberties and properties againſt a Popiſh enemy under an abdicated King, is, I confeſs, to me abſolutely inconceivable; and, I believe, will equally be ſo for ever to any reaſonable man.

When theſe ſectaries were ſeveral years ago making the ſame attempt for aboliſhing the teſt, many groundleſs reports were induſtriouſly and ſeaſonably

ably ſpread of an invaſion threatened by the pretender on the north of Ireland. At which time the Preſbyterians in their pamphlets argued in a menacing manner, that if the Pretender ſhould invade thoſe parts of the kingdom where the numbers and eſtates of the Diſſenters chiefly lay, they would ſit ſtill, and let us fight our own battles; ſince they were to reap no advantage, which ever ſide ſhould be victors. If this were the courſe they intended to take in ſuch a caſe, I deſire to know, how they could contrive ſafely to ſtand neuters, otherwiſe than by a compact with the pretender and his army to ſupport their neutrality, and protect them againſt the forces of the crown? This is a neceſſary ſuppoſition; becauſe they muſt otherwiſe have inevitably been a prey to both. However, by this frank declaration they ſufficiently ſhewed their good-will, and confirmed the common charge laid at their door, that a Scottiſh or northern Preſbyterian hates our Epiſcopal eſtabliſhed church more than Popery itſelf. And the reaſon for this hatred is natural enough; becauſe it is the church alone that ſtands in the way between them and power; which Popery doth not.

Upon this occaſion I am in ſome doubt, whether the political ſpreaders of thoſe chimerical invaſions made a judicious choice in fixing the northern parts of Ireland for that romantic enterpriſe. Nor can I well underſtand the wiſdom of the Preſbyterians in countenancing and confirming thoſe reports; becauſe it ſeems to caſt a moſt infamous reflection upon the loyalty and religious principles of their whole body: for if there had been any truth in the matter, the conſequence muſt have been allowed, that the pretender counted upon more aſſiſtance from his father's friends the Presbyterians by chuſing to land in thoſe very parts, where their number, wealth, and power, moſt prevailed, rather than among thoſe of his own religion. And therefore,

in charity to this ſect, I rather incline to believe, that thoſe reports of an invaſion were formed and ſpread by the race of ſmall politicians, in order to do a ſeaſonable job.

As to Popery in general, which for a thouſand years paſt hath been introducing and multiplying corruptions both in doctrine and diſcipline; I look upon it to be the moſt abſurd ſyſtem of Chriſtianity profeſſed by any nation. But I cannot apprehend this kingdom to be in much danger from it. The eſtates of Papiſts are very few; crumbling into ſmall parcels, and daily diminiſhing; their common people are ſunk in poverty, ignorance, and cowardice; and of as little conſequence as women and children. Their nobility and gentry are at leaſt one half ruined, baniſhed, or converted: they all ſoundly feel the ſmart of what they ſuffered in the laſt war: ſome of them are already retired into foreign countries; others, as I am told, intend to follow them; and the reſt, I believe, to a man, who ſtill poſſeſs any lands, are abſolutely determined never to hazard them again for the ſake of eſtabliſhing their ſuperſtition. If it hath been thought fit, as ſome obſerve, to abate of the law's rigour againſt Popery in this kingdom, I am confident it was done for very wiſe reaſons, conſidering the ſituation of affairs abroad at different times, and the intereſt of the Proteſtant religion in general. And as I do not find the leaſt fault in this proceeding; ſo I do not conceive why a ſunk, diſcarded party, who neither expect nor deſire any thing more than a quiet life, ſhould, under the names of High-fliers, Jacobites, and many other vile appellations, be charged ſo often in print, and at common tables, with endeavouring to introduce poperty and the pretender; while the Papiſts abhor them above all men, on account of ſeverities againſt their prieſts, in her late Majeſty's reign, when the now diſbanded reprobate party was in power. This I was convinced of

of ſome years ago by a long journey into the ſouthern parts; where I had the curioſity to ſend for many prieſts of the pariſhes I had paſſed through, and to my great ſatisfaction found them every where abounding in profeſſions of loyalty to the late King George; for which they gave me the reaſons above mentioned; at the ſame time complaining bitterly of the hardſhips they ſuffered under the Queen's laſt miniſtry.

I return from this digreſſion to the modeſt demands of the Preſbyterians for a repeal of the ſacramental teſt, as a reward for their merits at the reſtoration and the revolution; which merits I have fairly repreſented, as well as my memory would allow me. If I have committed any miſtakes, they muſt be of little moment. The facts and principal circumſtances are what I have obtained and digeſted from reading the hiſtories of thoſe times written by each party; and many thouſands have done the ſame as well as I, who, I am ſure, have in their minds drawn the ſame concluſions.

This is the faction, and theſe the men who are now reſuming their applications, and giving in their bills of merit to both kingdoms upon two points, which of all others they have the leaſt pretenſions to offer. I have collected the facts with all poſſible impartiality, from the current hiſtories of thoſe times; and have ſhewn, although very briefly, the gradual proceedings of theſe ſectaries, under the denominations of Puritans, Preſbyterians, and Independents, for about the ſpace of an hundred and eighty years, from the beginning of Queen Eliſabeth to this preſent time. But notwithſtanding all that can be ſaid, theſe very ſchiſmatics (for ſuch they are in temporals as well as ſpirituals) are now again expecting, ſoliciting, and demanding, (not without inſinuated threats, according to their cuſtom), that the parliament ſhould fix them upon an equal foot with the church eſtabliſhed. I would

fain know to what branch of the legiſlature they can have the forehead to apply. Not to my Lords the biſhops; who muſt have often read how the predeceſſors of this very faction, acting upon the ſame principles, drove the whole bench out of the houſe; who were then, and hitherto continue, one of the three eſtates: not to the temporal peers, the ſecond of the three eſtates, who muſt have heard, that immediately after thoſe rebellious fanatics had murdered their King, they voted a houſe of Lords to be uſeleſs and dangerous, and would let them ſit no longer, otherwiſe than when elected as Commoners: not to the houſe of Commons; who muſt have heard, that in thoſe fanatic times the Preſbyterian and Independent commanders in the army, by military power, expelled all the moderate men out of the houſe, and left a rump to govern the nation: laſtly, not the crown; which thoſe very ſaints, deſtined to rule the earth, trampled under their feet, and then in cold blood murdered the bleſſed wearer.

But the ſeſſion now approaching, and a clan of diſſenting teachers being come up to town from their northern head-quarters, accompanied by many of their elders and agents, and ſupported by a general contribution, to ſolicit their eſtabliſhment with a capacity of holding all military as well as civil employments I think it high time that this paper ſhould ſee the light. However, I cannot conclude without freely confeſſing, that if the Preſbyterians ſhould obtain their ends, I could not be ſorry to find them miſtaken, in the point which they have moſt at heart, by the repeal of the teſt; I mean the benefit of employments. For, after all, what aſſurance can a Scottiſh northern Diſſenter, born on Iriſh ground, have, that he ſhall be treated with as much favour as a TRUE SCOT born beyond the Tweed?

I am

I am ready enough to believe, that all I have said will avail but little. I have the common excuse of other men, when I think myself bound by all religious and civil ties to discharge my conscience, and to warn my countrymen upon this important occasion. It is true, the advocates for this scheme promise a new world after this blessed work shall be completed; that all animosity and faction must immediately drop; that the only distinction in this kingdom will then be of Papist and Protestant: or as to Whig and Tory, High-church and Low-church, Jacobite and Hanoverian, Court and Country party. English and Irish interests, Dissenters and Conformists, New Light and Old Light, Anabaptist and Independent, Quaker and Muggletonian; they will all meet and jumble together into a perfect harmony at the sessions and assizes, on the bench and in the revenues, and, upon the whole, in all civil and military trusts, not excepting the great councils of the nation. For it is wisely argued thus: That a kingdom being no more than a larger knot of friends met together, it is against the rules of good manners to shut any person out of the company, except the Papists, who profess themselves of another club.

I am at a loss to know, what arts the Presbyterian sect intends to use in convincing the world of their loyalty to kingly goverment, which, (long before the prevalence, or even the birth of their Independent rivals), as soon as the king's forces were overcome, declared their principles to be against monarchy, as well as Episcopacy and the house of Lords, even until the King was restored: at which event, although they were forced to submit to the present power, yet I have not heard, that they did ever to this day renounce any one principle, by which their predecessors then acted; yet this they have been challenged to do, or at least to shew that

others

others have done it for them, by a certain * Doct
who, as I am told, hath much employed his p
in the like disputes. I own they will be ready
nough to insinuate themselves into any governme
but if they mean to be honest and upright, th
will and must endeavour, by all means which th
shall think lawful, to introduce and establish th
own scheme of religion, as nearest approaching
the word of God, by casting out all superstitio
ceremonies, ecclesiastical titles, habits, distinctio
and superiorities, as rags of Popery, in order t
thorough reformation; and, as in charity boun
to promote the salvation of their countrymen, wi
ing with St. Paul, "that the whole kingdom we
"as they are." But what assurance will they ple
to give, that when their sect shall become the n
tional established worship, they will treat us DI
SENTERS as we have treated them? Was this th
course of proceeding during the dominion of t
saints? Were not all the remainders of the Epis
pal church in those days, especially the clergy, u
der a persecution for above a dozen years, equal
that of the primitive Christians under Heathen en
perors? That this proceeding was suitable to the
principles, is known enough; for many of the
preachers then writ books expresly against allow
ing any liberty of conscience in a religion differer
from their own; producing many arguments t
prove that opinion, and among the rest one fre
quently insisted on; that allowing such a libert
would be to "establish iniquity by a law*." Man
of these writings are yet to be seen; and, I hear
have been quoted by the Doctor above men
tioned.

As to their great objection of prostituting tha

* The late Dr. Tisdel, who died June 1756.

* See many hundred quotations to prove this, in the treatise called, *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence.*

holy

holy inſtitution, the bleſſed ſacrament, by way of a teſt before admittance into any employment; I aſk, whether they would not be content to receive it "after their own manner" for the office of a judge, for that of a commiſſioner in the revenue, or a regiment of horſe, or to be a Lord Juſtice. I believe they would ſcruple it as little, as a long grace before and after dinner, which they can ſay without bending a knee; for, as I have been told, their manner of taking bread and wine, in their conventicles, is performed with little more ſolemnity than at their common meals. And therefore, ſince they look upon our practice in receiving the ſacrament to be idolatrous, they neither can nor ought in conſcience to allow us that liberty, otherwiſe than by connivance, and a bare toleration, like what is permitted to the Papiſts. But leſt we ſhould offend them, I am ready to change this teſt for another; although, I am afraid, that ſanctified reaſon is by no means the point where the difficulty pinches, and is only offered by pretended churchmen; as if they could be content with our believing, that the impiety and profanation of making the ſacrament a teſt were the only objection. I therefore propoſe, that before the preſent law be repealed, another may be enacted; that no man ſhall receive any employment before he ſwears himſelf to be a true member of the church of Ireland, in doctrine and diſcipline, *&c.* and that he will never frequent or communicate with any other form of worſhip. It ſhall likewiſe be further enacted, That whoever offends, *&c.* ſhall be fined five hundred pounds, impriſoned for a year and a day, and rendered incapable of all public truſt for ever. Otherwiſe I do inſiſt, that thoſe pious, indulgent, external profeſſors of our national religion ſhall, either give up that fallacious hypocritical reaſon for taking off the teſt, or freely confeſs, that they deſire to have a gate wide open for every ſect, without any teſt at all,

all, except that of ſwearing loyalty to the King which, however, conſidering their principles with regard to monarchy yet unrenounced, might, if they would pleaſe to look deep enough into their own hearts, prove a more bitter teſt than any other that the law hath yet invented.

For, from the firſt time that theſe ſectaries appeared in the world, it hath been always found by their whole proceedings, that they profeſſed an utter hatred to kingly government. I can recollect at preſent three civil eſtabliſhments, where Calviniſts, and ſome other reformers who rejected Epiſcopacy, poſſeſs the ſupreme power; and theſe are all republics; I mean Holland, Geneva, and the reformed Swiſs cantons. I do not ſay this in diminution or diſgrace to commonwealths; wherein, I confeſs, I have much altered many opinions under which I was educated, having been led by ſome obſervation, long experience, and a thorough deteſtation for the corruptions of mankind: inſomuch that I am now juſtly liable to the cenſure of Hobbes, who complains, that the youth of England imbibe ill opinions from reading the hiſtories of ancient Greece and Rome, thoſe renowned ſcenes of liberty and every virtue.

But as to monarchs, who muſt be ſuppoſed well to ſtudy and underſtand their own intereſt; they will beſt conſider, whether thoſe people who in all their actions, preachings, and writings, have openly declared themſelves againſt regal power, are to be ſafely placed in an equal degree of favour and truſt with thoſe who have been always found the true and only friends to the Engliſh eſtabliſhment. From which conſideration, I could have added one more article to my new teſt, if I had thought it worth my time.

I have been aſſured, by ſome perſons who were preſent, that ſeveral of theſe diſſenting teachers, upon their firſt arrival hither to ſolicit the repeal of the

he teſt, were pleaſed to expreſs their gratitude, by ublicly drinking the healths of certain eminent atrons, whom they pretend to have found among s. If this be true, and that the teſt muſt be de- vered up by the very ſuperiors appointed to de- end it, the affair is already in effect at an end. What ſecret reaſons thoſe patrons may have given or ſuch a return of brotherly love, I ſhall not in- uire: "For, O my ſoul, come not thou into their *ſecret*; unto their *aſſembly*, mine honour, be not thou united. For in their anger they ſlew a man, and in their ſelf-will they digged down a wall Curſed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide them in Jacob, and ſcatter them in Iſrael."

The

The Advantages propoſed by repealing the SACRAMENTAL TEST, impartially conſidered.

Written in the year 1732.

WHoever writes impartially upon this ſubject muſt do it not only as a mere ſecular man but as one who is altogether indifferent to any particular ſyſtem of Chriſtianity. And, I think, in whatever country that religion predominates, there is one certain form of worſhip and ceremony which is looked upon as the eſtabliſhed; and conſequently, only the prieſts of that particular form are maintained at the public charge; and all civil employments beſtowed among thoſe who comply (at leaſt outwardly) with the ſame eſtabliſhment.

This method is ſtrictly obſerved, even by our neighbours the Dutch, who are confeſſed to allow the fulleſt liberty of conſcience of any Chriſtian ſtate; and yet are never known to admit any perſons into civil offices, who do not conform to the legal worſhip. As to their military men, they are indeed not ſo ſcrupulous; being by the nature of their government under a neceſſity of hiring foreign troops of whatever religious denomination upon every great emergency, and maintaining no ſmall number in time of peace.

This caution therefore of making one eſtabliſhed faith ſeems to be univerſal, and founded upon the ſtrongeſt reaſons, the miſtaken or affected zeal of obſtinacy and enthuſiaſm having produced ſuch a number

number of horrible deſtructive events throughout all Chriſtendom. For whoever begins to think the national worſhip is wrong in any important article of practice or belief, will, if he be ſerious, naturally have a zeal to make as many proſelytes as he can: and a nation may poſſibly have an hundred different ſects with their leaders; every one of which hath an equal right to plead, that they muſt "obey God rather than man; *muſt* cry aloud and "ſpare not; *muſt* lift up their voice like a trumpet."

This was the caſe of England during the fanatic times. And againſt all this there ſeems to be no defence, but that of ſupporting one eſtabliſhed form of doctrine and diſcipline; leaving the reſt to bare liberty of conſcience, but without any maintenance or encouragement from the public.

Wherever this national religion grows ſo corrupt, or is thought to do ſo by a very great majority of landed people joined to the governing party, whether prince or ſenate, or both, it ought to be changed; provided the work might be done without blood or confuſion. Yet, whenever ſuch a change ſhall be made, ſome other eſtabliſhment muſt ſucceed, although for the worſe; allowing all deviations, that would break the union, to be only tolerated. In this ſenſe, thoſe who affirm that every law which is contrary to the law of God, is void in itſelf, ſeem to be miſtaken; for many laws in Popiſh kingdoms and ſtates, many more among the Turks, and perhaps not a few in other countries, are directly againſt the divine laws; and yet, God knows, are very far from being void in the executive part.

That, for inſtance, if the three eſtates of parliament in England (whereof the Lords Spiritual, who repreſent the church, are one) ſhould agree and obtain the royal aſſent to aboliſh Epiſcopacy, together with the liturgy, and the whole frame of

the Engliſh church, as " burthenſome, danger
" ous, and contrary to holy ſcripture; *and tha*
" Preſbytery, Anabaptiſm, Quakeriſm, Indepen
" dency, Muggletonianiſm, Browniſm, Familiſm,
or any other ſubdivided ſect among us, ſhould b
eſtabliſhed in its place: without queſtion all peace
able ſubjects ought paſſively to ſubmit; and th
predominant ſect muſt become the religion eſta
bliſhed; the public maintaining no other teachers
nor admitting any perſons of a different religiou
profeſſion into civil offices, at leaſt if their inten
tion be to preſerve the nation in peace.

Suppoſing then, that the preſent ſyſtem of reli
gion were aboliſhed: and Preſbytery, which I fin
ſtands the faireſt, with its ſynods and claſſes, an
all its forms and ceremonies eſſential or circum
ſtantial, were erected into the national worſhip
their teachers, and no others, could have an
legal claim to be tranſported at the public charge
whether by ſtipends or tithes; and only the reſt o
the ſame faith to be capable of civil employments.

If there be any true reaſoning in what I hav
laid down, it ſhould ſeem, that the project now i
agitation for repealing the teſt-act, and yet leavin
the name of an eſtabliſhment to the preſent nation
al church, is altogether inconſiſtent; and may ad
mit of conſequences, which thoſe who are the moſ
indifferent to any religion at all, are poſſibly not a
ware of.

I preſume whenever the teſt ſhall be repealed,
which obliges all men who enter into office under
the crown, to receive the ſacrament according to
the rites of the church of Ireland; the way to em
ployments will immediately be left open to all Diſ
ſenters, (except Papiſts); whoſe conſciences can
ſuffer them to take the common oaths in ſuch caſes
preſcribed; after which, they are qualified to fill
any lay-ſtation in this kingdom, from that of chief
governor to an exciſeman.

Thus,

Thus, of the three judges on each bench the first may be a Presbyterian, the second a free-will Baptist, and the third a Churchman; the Lord Chancellor may be an Independent; the revenues may be managed by seven commissioners of as many different sects; and the like of all other employments: not to mention the strong probability, that the lawfulness of taking oaths may be revealed to the Quakers, who then will stand upon as good a foot for preferment, as any other loyal subjects. It is obvious to imagine, under such a motley administration of affairs, what a clashing there will be of interest and inclinations; what pullings and hawlings backwards and forwards; what a zeal and bias in each religionist to advance his own tribe, and depress the others. For I suppose nothing will be readier granted, than that how indifferent soever most men are in faith and morals, yet, whether out of artifice, natural complexion, or love of contradiction, none are more obstinate in maintaining their own opinions, and worrying all who differ from them, than those who publicly shew the least sense either of religion or common honesty.

As to the latter, Bishop Burnet tells us, that the Presbyterians, in the fanatic times, professed themselves to be above mortality; which as we find in some of their writings, was numbered among the beggarly elements: And accordingly, at this day, no scruples of conscience, with regard to conformity, are, in any trade or calling, inconsistent with the greatest fraud, oppression, perjury, or any other vice.

This brings to my memory a passage in Montagne, of a common prostitute, who, in the storming of town, when a soldier came up to her chamber, and offered violence to her chastity, rather chose to venture her neck, by leaping out of the window, than suffer a rape; yet still continued her

trade of lewdneſs, while ſhe had any cuſtomers left.

I confeſs, that, in my private judgment, an unlimited permiſſion of all ſects whatſoever (except Papiſts) to enjoy employments would be leſs pernicious to the public, than a fair ſtruggle between two contenders; becauſe, in the former caſe, ſuch a jumble of principles might poſſibly have the effect of contrary poiſons mingled together which a ſtrong conſtitution might perhaps be able for ſome time to ſurvive.

But however I ſhall take the other and more probable ſuppoſition, that this battle for employments is to be fought only between the Preſbyterians, and thoſe of the church yet eſtabliſhed. I ſhall not enter into the merits of either ſide by examining, which of the two is the better ſpiritual œconomy, or which is moſt ſuited to our civil conſtitution; but the queſtion turns upon this point; when the Preſbyterians ſhall have got their ſhare of employments (which muſt be one full half, or elſe they cannot look upon themſelves as fairly dealt with), I aſk whether they ought not, by their own principles and by the ſtricteſt rules of conſcience, to uſe the utmoſt of their ſkill, power, and influence, in order to reduce the whole kingdom to an uniformity in religion, both as to doctrine and diſcipline moſt agreeable to the word of God. Wherein, if they can ſucceed without blood, (as under the preſent diſpoſition of things is is very poſſible they may), it is to be hoped they will at laſt be ſatisfied: only I would warn them of a few difficulties. The firſt is, of compromiſing among themſelves that important controverſy about the *old light* and the *new*; which otherwiſe may, after this eſtabliſhment, ſplit them as wide as Papiſt and Proteſtant, Whig and Tory, or Churchman and Diſſenter; and conſequently the work will be to begin again; for in religious quarrels

iarrels it is of little moment, how few or ſmall e differences are; eſpecially when the diſpute is ly about power. Thus the zealous Preſbyterians the North are more alienated from the eſtabliſhed ergy, than from the Romiſh prieſts; taxing the rmer with idolatrous worſhip, as diſguiſed Paſts, Ceremony-mongers., and many other terms art; and this for a very powerful reaſon; beuſe the clergy ſtand in their way, which the Poſh prieſts do not. Thus I am aſſured that the iarrel between *old* and *new light men* is managed th more rage and rancour, than any other difte of the higheſt importance; and this, becauſe ſerves to leſſen or increaſe their ſeveral congretions, from whom they receive their contribuons.

Another difficulty, which may embarraſs the reſbyterians after their eſtabliſhment, will be, how t adjuſt their claim of the kirk's independency on e civil power, with the conſtitution of this moirchy: a point ſo delicate, that it hath often fill the heads of great patriots with dangerous otions of the church-clergy without the leaſt ound of ſuſpicion.

As to the Preſbyterians allowing liberty of conience to thoſe of Epiſcopal principles, when their n kirk ſhall be predominant; their writers are ſoiverſally agreed in the negative, as well as their actice during Oliver Cromwell's reign, that I beve no reaſonable churchman (who muſt then be Diſſenter) will expect it.

I ſhall here take notice, that in the diviſion of ployments among the Preſbyterians after this proaching repeal of the teſt-act, ſuppoſing them proper time to have an equal ſhare, the odds ll be three or four to one on their ſide in any ther ſcheme they may have towards making their ligion national. For I reckon all thoſe gentlen ſent over from England, whatever religion

they profeſs, or have been educated in, to be c
that party: ſince it is no mark of prudence for an
perſons to oppoſe the current of a nation, wher
they are in ſome ſort only ſojourners; unleſs the
have it in direction.

If there be any maxim in politics not to be cor
trolled, it muſt be the following: that thoſe whoſ
private intereſt is united with the intereſt of the
country, ſuppoſing them to be of equal under
ſtanding with the reſt of their neighbours, wi
heartily wiſh, that the nation ſhould thrive. Ou
of theſe are indubitably excepted all perſons wh
are ſent from another kingdom to be employed i
places of profit or power; becauſe they cannc
poſſibly bear any affection to the place where the
ſojourn, even for life; their ſole buſineſs being t
advance themſelves by following the advice of the
principals. I except likewiſe thoſe perſons wh
are taken into offices, although natives of the land
becauſe they are greater gainers while they kee
their offices, than they could poſſibly be by menc
ing the miſerable condition of their country.

I except, *thirdly*, all hopers, who, by balancin
accounts with themſelves. turn the ſcale on th
ſame ſide; becauſe the ſtrong expectation of
good certain ſalary will outweigh the loſs by ba
rents received out of lands in moneyleſs times.

If my Lords the Biſhops, who, I hear, are nov
employed in a ſcheme for regulating the conduc
and maintenance of the inferior clergy, ſhall, i
their wiſdom ad piety, and love of the church, con
ſent to this repeal of the teſt, I have not the leaſ
doubt, that the whole reverend body will chearful
ly ſubmit to their ſpiritual fathers; of whoſe pa
ternal tenderneſs for their welfare they have al
ready found ſo many amazing inſtances.

I am not therefore under the leaſt concern abou
the clergy on this account. They will (for ſom
time) be no great ſufferers by this repeal; becauſ

I cannot recollect among all our sects any one that giveth latitude enough to take the oaths required at an institution to a church-living; and until that bar shall be removed, the present Episcopal clergy are safe for two years, Although it may be somewhat unequal, that in the northern parts, where there may be three Dissenters to one churchman, the whole revenue shall be ingrossed by him who hath so small a part of the cure.

It is true indeed, that this disadvantage which the Dissenters at present lie under, of a disability to receive church-preferments will be easily remedied by the repeal of the test. For the Dissenting teachers are under no incapacity of accepting civil and military employments; wherein they agree perfectly with the Popish clergy; among whom great cardinals and prelates have been commanders of armies, chief ministers, knights of many orders, ambassadors, secretaries of state, and in most high offices under the crown; although they assert the indelible character, which no sectaries among us did ever assume. But that many, both Presbyterians and Independents, commanders as well as private soldiers, were professed preachers in the time of their dominion, is allowed by all. Cromwell himself was a preacher; and hath left us one of his sermons in print, exactly in the same style and manner with those of our modern Presbyterian teachers: so was Colonel Howard, Sir George Downing, and several others, whose names are on record. I can therefore see no reason why a painful Presbyterian teacher, as soon as the test shall be repealed, may not be privileged to hold along with the spiritual office and stipend a commission in the army or the civil list *in commendam*: for, as I take it, the church of England is the only body of Christians, which in effect disqualifies those who are employed to preach its doctrine, from sharing in the civil power, farther than as senators; yet this

this was a privilege begun in times of Popery, many hundred years before the reformation, and woven with the very inſtitution of our limited monarchy.

There is indeed another method, whereby the ſtipends of diſſenting teachers may be raiſed, and the farmer much relieved; if it ſhould be thought proper to reward a people ſo deſerving, and ſo loyal by their principles. Every biſhop, upon the vacancy of a church-living, can ſequeſter the profits for the uſe of the next incumbent. Upon a lapſe of half a year, the donation falls to the archbiſhop, and after a full year to the crown during pleaſure. Therefore it would be no hardſhip for any clergyman alive, if (in thoſe parts of Ireland, where the number of ſectaries much exceeds that of the conformiſts) the profits, when ſequeſtered, might be applied to the ſupport of the diſſenting teacher, who hath ſo many ſouls to take care of: whereby the poor tenants would be much relieved in thoſe hard times, and in a better condition to pay their rents.

But there is another difficulty in this matter, againſt which a remedy doth not ſo readily occur. For ſuppoſing the teſt-act repealed, and the Diſſenters in conſequence fully qualified for all ſecular employments; the queſtion may ſtill be put, whether thoſe of Ireland will be often the perſons on whom they ſhall be beſtowed; becauſe it is imagined, that there may be * another ſeminary in view, more numerous and more needy, as well as more meriting, and more eaſily contented with ſuch low offices; which ſome nearer neighbours hardly think it worth ſtirring from the chimney-ſides to obtain. And, I am told, it is the common practice of thoſe who are ſkilled in the management of bees, that when they ſee a foreign ſwarm at ſome diſtance, approaching with an intention to plunder their hives, theſe artiſts have a trick to divert them into

* Scotland.

ſome

ome neighbouring apiary, there to make what ha-
ock they pleaſe. This I ſhould not have hinted,
I had not known it already to have gotten ground
n many ſuſpecting heads; for it is the peculiar ta-
nt of this nation to ſee dangers afar off: to all
hich I can only ſay, that our native Preſbyterians
uſt by pains and induſtry raiſe ſuch a fund of me-
it, as will anſwer to a birth ſix degrees more to the
orth. If they cannot arrive at this perfection, as
veral of the eſtabliſhed church have compaſſed by
ndefatigable pains, I do not ſee well how their af-
airs will much mend by repealing the teſt: for to
e qualified by law to accept an employment, and
et to be diſqualified in fact, as it will much increaſe
ie mortification, ſo it will withdraw the pity of
any among their wellwiſhers, and utterly deprive
hem of that merit they have ſo long made, of be-
ng a loyal, true Proteſtant people, perſecuted only
or religion.

If this happen to be their caſe, they muſt wait
aturity of time; until they can by prudent, gentle
teps, make their faith become the religion eſta-
liſhed in the nation; after which, I do not in the
eaſt doubt, that they will take the moſt effectual
ethods to ſecure their power againſt thoſe who
uſt then be Diſſenters in their turn; whereof, if
e may form a future opinion from preſent times,
nd the diſpoſitions of Diſſenters, who love to make
thorough reformation, the number and qualities
ill be very inconſiderable.

Thus I have, with the utmoſt ſincerity, after
ong thinking, given my judgment upon this ardu-
us affair; but with the utmoſt deference and ſub-
niſſion to public wiſdom and power.

QUERIES

QUERIES relating to the SACRAMENTAL TEST.

Written in the year 1732.

QUERY, WHether hatred and violence between parties in a ſtate be not more inflamed by different views of intereſt, than by the greater or leſſer differences between them either in religion or government?

Whether it be any part of the queſtion at this time, Which of the two religions is worſe, Popery or Fanaticiſm; or not rather, Which of the two (having both the ſame good will) is in the hopefulleſt condition to ruin the church?

Whether the ſectaries, whenever they come to prevail, will not ruin the church as infallibly and effectually as the Papiſts?

Whether the prevailing ſectaries could allow liberty of conſcience to Diſſenters without belying all their former practice, and almoſt all their former writings?

Whether many hundred thouſand Scotch Preſbyterians are not full as virulent againſt the Epiſcopal church, as they are againſt the Papiſts; or as they would have us think the Papiſts are againſt them?

Whether the Dutch, who are moſt diſtinguiſhed for allowing liberty of conſcience, do ever admit any perſons, who profeſs a different ſcheme of worſhip from their own into civil employments, altho' they

hey may may be forced by the nature of their go-
nent to receive mercenary troops of all religions?

Whether the Diſſenters ever pretended, until of
ite years, to deſire more than a bare toleration?

Whether, if it be true, what a ſorry pamphle-
er aſſerts, who lately writ for the teſt, that the
Diſſenters in this kingdom are equally numerous
ith the churchmen, it would not be a neceſſary
oint of prudence by all proper and lawful means to
revent their further increaſe?

The great argument given by thoſe whom they
all low churchmen, to juſtify the large tolerations
llowed to Diſſenters hath been, that by ſuch in-
ulgencies the rancour of thoſe ſectaries would gra-
ually wear off, many of them would come over to
s, and their parties in a little time crumble to no-
ing.

Query, Whether if what the above pamphleteer
ſſerts, that the ſectaries are equal in numbers with
onformiſts be true, it doth not clearly follow, that
hoſe repeated tolerations have operated directly
ontrary to what thoſe low-church politicians pre-
ended to foreſee and expect?

Whether any clergyman, however dignified or
iſtinguiſhed, if he think his own profeſſion moſt
greeable to holy ſcripture and the primitive church,
n really wiſh in his heart, that all ſectaries ſhould
e upon an equal foot with the churchmen in the
oint of civil power and employments?

Whether Epiſcopacy, which is held by the church
be a divine and apoſtolical inſtitution, be not a
ndamental point of religion, particularly in that
ſential one of conferring holy orders?

Whether, by neceſſary conſequences, the ſeveral
xpedients among the ſectaries to conſtitute their
achers are not abſolutely null and void?

Whether the ſectaries will ever agree to accept
dination only from biſhops?

Whether

Whether the bishops and clergy will be conte
to give up Episcopacy, as a point indifferent, wit
out which the church can well subsist?

Whether that great tenderness towards sectarie
which now so much prevails, be chiefly owing to t
fears of Popery, or to that spirit of Atheism, D
ism, Scepticism, and universal immorality, whi
all good men so much lament?

Granting Popery to have many more errors
religion than any one branch of the sectaries, l
us examine the actions of both, as they have ea
affected the peace of these kingdoms, with allo
ance for the short time which the sectaries had to a
in, who are in a manner but of yesterday. The P
pists in the time of King James II. used all ende
vours to establish their superstition, wherein th
failed by the united power of English church Prot
stants with the Prince of Orange's assistance. B
it cannot be asserted, that these bigotted Papists h
the least design to oppose or murder their Kin
much less to abolish kingly government; nor was
their interest or inclination to attempt either.

On the other side, the Puritans, who had almo
from the beginning of Queen Elisabeth's reign be
a perpetual thorn in the church's side, joining wi
the Scotch enthusiasts in the time of King Charles
were the principal cause of the Irish rebellion an
massacre, by distressing that prince, and making
impossible for him to send over timely succour
And after that pious prince had satisfied his parli
ment in every single point to be complained of, th
same sectaries, by poisoning the minds and affe
tions of the people with the most false and wicke
representations of their King, were able, in th
compass of few years, to embroil the three natio
in a bloody rebellion at the expense of many thou
sand lives; to turn the kingly power into anarchy
to murder their prince in the face of the world, an

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(in their own ſtyle) to deſtroy the church root and branch.

The account therefore ſtands thus: The Papiſts aimed at one pernicious act, which was to deſtroy the Proteſtant religion; wherein by God's mercy, and the aſſiſtance of our glorious King William, they abſolutely failed. The ſectaries attempted the three moſt infernal actions that could poſſibly enter into the hearts of men forſaken by God; which were, the murder of a moſt pious king, the deſtruction of the monarchy, and the extirpation of the church; and ſucceeded in them all.

Upon which I put the following queries: Whether any of thoſe ſectaries have ever yet in a ſolemn public manner renounced any one of thoſe principles upon which their predeceſſors then acted?

Whether, conſidering the cruel perſecutions of the Epiſcopal church during the courſe of that horrid rebellion, and the conſequences of it until the happy reſtoration, it is not manifeſt, that the perſecuting ſpirit lies ſo equally divided between the Papiſts and the ſectaries, that a feather would turn the balance on either ſide?

And therefore, laſtly, Whether any perſon of common underſtanding, who profeſſeth himſelf a member of the church eſtabliſhed, although perhaps with little inward regard to any religion, (which is too often the caſe), if he loves the peace and welfare of his country, can after cool thinking rejoice to ſee a power placed again in the hands of ſo reſtleſs, ſo ambitious, and ſo mercileſs a faction, to act over all the ſame parts a ſecond time?

Whether the candour of that expreſſion ſo frequent of late in ſermons and pamphlets, of the *ſtrength and number of the Papiſts in Ireland*, can be juſtified? for as to their number, however great, it is always magnified in proportion to the zeal or politics of the ſpeaker and writer; but it is a groſs ſuppoſition upon common reaſon to terrify us with

their ſtrength. For Popery, under the circum ſtances it lies in this kingdom, although it be offen ſive and inconvenient enough from the conſequen ces it hath to increaſe the rapine, ſloth, and igno rance, as well as poverty of the natives, is not pro perly dangerous in that ſenſe, as ſome would hav us take it; becauſe it is univerſally hated by e very party of a different religious profeſſion. It i the contempt of the wiſe; the beſt topic for cla mours of deſigning men; but the real error only o fools. The landed Popiſh intereſt in England fa exceeds that among us, even in proportion to th wealth and extent of each kingdom. The littl that remains here is daily dropping into Proteſtar hands by purchaſe or deſcent: and that affecte complaint of counterfeit converts will fall with th cauſe of it in half a generation, unleſs it be raiſe or kept alive as a continual fund of merit and elo quence. The Papiſts are wholly diſarmed: the have neither courage, leaders, money, or inclina tions, to rebel: they want every advantage whic they formerly poſſeſſed, to follow that trade; an wherein even with thoſe advantages they alway miſcarried: they appear very eaſy and ſatisfied un der that connivance, which they enjoyed during th whole laſt reign; nor ever ſcrupled to reproach an other party, under which they pretend to have ſuf fered ſo much ſeverity.

Upon theſe conſiderations, I muſt confeſs t have ſuſpended much of my pity towards the grea dreaders of Popery; many of whom appear to b hale, ſtrong, active, young men; who, as I ar told, eat, drink, and ſleep heartily; and are ver chearful (as they have exceeding good reaſon) up on all other ſubjects. However, I cannot to much commend the generous concern which ou neighbours, and others who come from the ſam neighbourhood, are ſo kind to expreſs for us upo this account; although the former be farther re

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noved from the danger of Popery by twenty eagues of ſalt-water: but this, I fear, is a digreſ-ion.

When an artificial report was raiſed here many ears ago, of an intended invaſion by the pretend-r, (which blew over after it had done its office), he Diſſenters argued in their talk and in their pam-hlets after this manner, applying themſelves to hoſe of the church: Gentlemen, if the pretender ad landed, as the law now ſtands, we durſt not ſſiſt you; and therefore, unleſs you take off the eſt, whenever you ſhall happen to be invaded in arneſt, if we are deſired to take up arms in your lefence, our anſwer ſhall be, Pray, Gentlemen, ight your own battles; we will lie by quietly; con-uer your enemies by yourſelves, if you can; we vill not do your drudgery. This way of reaſoning have heard from ſeveral of their chiefs and abet-ors in an hundred converſations; and have read in twenty pamphlets: and I am confident it will e offered again, if the project ſhould fail to take ff the teſt.

Upon which piece of oratory and reaſoning I orm the following query. Whether, in caſe of an nvaſion from the Pretender, (which is not quite ſo robable as from the Grand Signior) the Diſſent-rs can with prudence and ſafety offer the ſame lea; except they ſhall have made a previous ſti-ulation with the invaders? And whether the full reedom of their religion and trade, their lives, roperties, wives, and children, are not, and have ot always been reckoned, ſufficient motives for epelling invaſions; eſpecially in our ſectaries, who all themſelves the trueſt Proteſtants, by virtue of heir pretended or real fierceneſs againſt Popery?

Whether omitting or neglecting to celebrate the ay of the martyrdom of the bleſſed K. Charles I. njoined by act of parliament, can be juſtly reckon-

ed a particular and diſtinguiſhing mark of good affection to the preſent government.

Whether in thoſe churches where the ſaid day is obſerved, it will fully anſwer the intent of the ſaid act, if the preacher ſhall commend, excuſe, palliate, or extenuate, the murder of that royal martyr; and place the guilt of that horrid rebellion with all its conſequences, the following uſurpations, the entire deſtruction of the church, the cruel and continual perſecutions of thoſe who could be diſcovered to profeſs its doctrines, with the enſuing Babel of Fanaticiſm, to the account of that bleſſed King, who, by granting the petition of right, and paſſing every bill that could be aſked for the ſecurity of the ſubject, had, by the confeſſion of thoſe wicked men before the war began, left them nothing more to demand?

Whether ſuch a preacher as I have named (whereof there have been more than one, not many years paſt, even in the preſence of viceroys) who takes that courſe as a means for promotion may not be thought to ſtep a little out of the common road in a monarchy where the deſcendents of that moſt bleſſed martyr have reigned to this day?

I ground the reaſon of making theſe queries on the title of the act; to which I refer the reader.

REA-

REASONS humbly offered to the Parliament of Ireland, for repealing the SACRAMENTAL TEST, in favour of the CATHOLICS *.

Written in the year 1732.

IT is well known, that the firſt conquerors of this kingdom were Engliſh Catholics, ſubjects to Engliſh Catholic kings, from whom by their valour and ſucceſs they obtained large portions of land, given.

* In the years 1732 and 1733, an attempt was made for repealing the teſt-act in Ireland, introductory of a like attempt in England. The various arguments for it were anſwered in every ſhape; but no way more effectually, than by examining what pretence the Preſbyterians had to ſhare in all the privileges of government, either from their own principles and behaviour, or compared with thoſe of other ſectaries. Under the former head they were fully ſilenced by our author, in "The Preſbyterians plea of merit impartially examined" [above, p. 172]. They are now put in the balance with Papiſts, whom although they have ſometimes ſtyled their brethren in adverſity, yet, when placed in competition, they will hate as brethren likewiſe. But let them here diſpute the preference, and then put in their claim to be a part of the eſtabliſhment. *Dub edit.* 1735.

The author having before examined the Preſbyterians plea of merit, with reſpect to their own principles and practices, has in this tract put them in the balance againſt Papiſts.

This tract is written under the aſſumed character of a Roman Catholic; by which means the author attacks his adverſaries with a great advantage. He freely acknowledges the ſeveral atrocious crimes of the Papiſts; but at the ſame time palliates them ſkilfully, that, from that very acknowledgment, he enables himſelf to aim the heavier blows at Preſbyterians. A paragraph extracted from the pamphlet, will exemplify my meaning. [Here the particular paſſage is quoted, beginning thus, "We allow the Catholics to be brethren of

given them as a reward for their many victories over the Iriſh: to which merit our brethren the diſſenters of any denomination whatſoever have not the leaſt pretenſions.

It is confeſſed, that the poſterity of thoſe firſt victorious Catholics were often forced to riſe in their own defence againſt new colonies from England, who treated them like mere native Iriſh with innumerable oppreſſions, depriving them of their lands, and driving them by force of arms into the moſt deſolate parts of the kingdom; till in the next generation the children of theſe tyrants were uſed in the ſame manner by new Engliſh adventurers, which practice continued for many centuries. But it is agreed on all hands, that no inſurrections were ever made, except after great oppreſſions by freſh invaders. Whereas all the rebellions of Puritans, Preſbyterians, Independents, and other ſectaries, conſtantly began before any provocations were given, except that they were not ſuffered to change the government in church and ſtate, and ſeize both into their own hands; which however at laſt they did with the murder of their king, and of many thouſands of his beſt ſubjects.

The Catholics were always defenders of monarchy, as conſtituted in theſe kingdoms; whereas our brethren the Diſſenters were always republicans both in principle and practice.

It is well known, that all the Catholics of theſe kingdoms, both prieſts and laity, are true Whigs, in the beſt and moſt proper ſenſe of the word; bearing as well in their hearts, as in their outward profeſſion, an entire loyalty to the Royal Houſe of Hanover, in the perſon and poſterity of George II.

the Diſſenters," *&c. p.* 213. *l.* 36. ending p. 214 *l.* 23.]--The greateſt art, and the keeneſt ſtrokes of irony, diſplay themſelves throughout the whole compoſition: and the concluſion of it is drawn up with a mixture of ſerious and ironical arguments that ſeem to defy all kinds of refutation. *Orrery.*

againſt

gainſt the pretender and all his adherents. To hich they think themſelves bound in gratitude as ell as conſcience, by the lenity wherewith they ave been treated ſince the death of Queen Anne, different from what they ſuffered in the four laſt ears of that princeſs, during the adminiſtration of at wicked miniſter the Earl of Oxford.

The Catholics of this kingdom humbly hope, at they have at leaſt as fair a title as any of their other Diſſenters to the appellation of Proteſtants. hey have always proteſted againſt the felling, deroning, or murdering their kings; againſt the urpations and avarice of the court of Rome; gainſt Deiſm, Atheiſm, Socinianiſm, Quakeriſm, uggletonianiſm, Fanaticiſm, Browniſm, as well againſt all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics. Whereas the title of Proteſtants aſſumed by the hole herd of Diſſenters (except ourſelves) depends entirely upon their proteſting againſt archbiops, biſhops, deans, and chapters, with their reenues; and the whole hierarchy; which are the ry expreſſions uſed in the Solemn League and ovenant *, where the word Popery is only mened *ad invidiam*; becauſe the Catholics agree th the Epiſcopal church in thoſe fundamentals.

Although the Catholics cannot deny, that in the eat rebellion againſt King Charles I. more ſoldis of their religion were in the parliament-army an in his Majeſty's troops; and that many Jeſuits d Friers went about in the diſguiſe of Preſbyteun and Independent miniſters to preach up rebelon, as the beſt hiſtorians of thoſe times inform

* A ſolemn league and covenant entered into between the Scots d Engliſh fanatics in the rebellion againſt King Charles I. 1643, which they ſolemnly engaged among other, things, "to endeaur the extirpation of Prelacy, that is, church-government by archhops, biſhops, deans, archdeans, and all other Epiſcopal officers epending on that hierarchy,"

us;

us; yet the bulk of Catholics in both kingdon
preſerved their loyalty entire.

The Catholics have ſome reaſon to think it a l
tle hard, when their enemies will not pleaſe to c
ſtinguiſh between the rebellious riot committed
that brutal ruffian Sir Phelim O Neal, with his t
multuous crew of rabble, and the forces raiſed a
terwards by the Catholic lords and gentlemen
the Engliſh pale in defence of the King, after t
Engliſh rebellion began. It is well known, th
his Majeſty's affairs were in great diſtraction for
time before, by an invaſion of the covenantin
Scottiſh, kirk rebels, and by the baſe terms t
King was forced to accept, that they might be ke
in quiet at a juncture when he was every ho
threatened at home by that fanatic party, whi
ſoon after ſet all in a flame. And if the Catho
army in Ireland fought for their King againſt t
forces ſent over by the parliament, then in actu
rebellion againſt him, what perſon of loyal prin
ples can be ſo partial, to deny that they did the
duty by joining with the Marquis of Ormond a
other commanders, who bore their commiſſio
from the King? for which great numbers of the
loſt their lives, and forfeited their eſtates; a gre
part of the latter being now poſſeſſed by many d
ſcendents from thoſe very men, who had draw
their ſwords in the ſervice of that rebellious parli
ment which cut off his head, and deſtroyed m
narchy And what is more amazing, although th
ſame perſons, when the Iriſh were entirely ſubdue
continued in power under the rump, were chi
confidents, and faithful ſubjects to Cromwell, y
being wiſe enough to foreſee a reſtoration, the
ſeized the forts and caſtles here out of the hanc
of their old brethren in rebellion, for the ſervic
of the King; juſt ſaving the tide, and putting in
ſtock of merit ſufficient not only to preſerve th
land which the Catholics loſt by their loyalty, bu
likewi

kewiſe to preſerve their civil and military employ-
ents, or be higher advanced.

Thoſe inſurrections wherewith the Catholics are
harged, from the beginning of the ſeventeenth
entury to the great Engliſh rebellion, were occa-
oned by many oppreſſions they lay under. They
ad no intention to introduce a new religion, but
o enjoy the liberty of preſerving the old; the very
me which their anceſtors profeſſed from the time
hat Chriſtianity was firſt introduced into this
land, which was by Catholics; but whether min-
led with corruptions, as ſome pretend, doth not
elong to the queſtion. They had no deſign to
hange the government; they never attempted
o fight againſt, to impriſon, to betray, to ſell,
o bring to a trial, or to murder their king. The
hiſmatics acted by a ſpirit directly contrary;
ney united in a ſolemn league and covenant to al-
r the whole ſyſtem of ſpiritual government eſta-
iſhed in all Chriſtian nations, and of apoſtolic in-
itution; concluding the tragedy with the murder
f the King in cold blood, and upon mature deli-
eration; at the ſame time changing the monarchy
to a commonwealth.

The Catholics of Ireland, in the great rebellion,
ſt their eſtates for fighting in defence of their
ing. The ſchiſmatics, who cut off the father's
ead, forced the ſon to fly for his life, and over-
rned the whole ancient frame of government, re-
gious and civil; obtained grants of thoſe very eſtates
hich the Catholics loſt in defence of the ancient
nſtitution, many of which eſtates are at this day
oſſeſſed by the poſterity of thoſe ſchiſmatics: and
us they gained by their rebellion, what the Ca-
olics loſt by their loyalty.

We allow the Catholics to be brethren of the
iſſenters; ſome people indeed (which we cannot
low) would have them to be our children, becauſe
e both diffent from the church eſtabliſhed, and

both

both agree in aboliſhing this perſecuting ſacramental teſt; by which negative diſcouragement we are both rendered incapable of civil and military employments. However we cannot but wonder at the bold familiarity of theſe ſchiſmatics, in calling the members of the national church their brethren and fellow Proteſtants. It is true, that all theſe ſects (except the Catholics) are brethren to each other in faction, ignorance, iniquity, perverſeneſs, pride and (if we except the Quakers) in rebellion. But how the churchmen can be ſtyled their fellow Proteſtant, we cannot comprehend: becauſe, when the whole Babel of ſectaries joined againſt the church, the King, and the nobility for twenty years in a MATCH AT FOOT-BALL, where the proverb expreſsly tells us, that all are FELLOWS; while the three kingdoms were toſſed to and fro, the churches, and cities, and royal palaces ſhattered to pieces by their balls, their buffets, and their kicks; the victors would allow no more FELLOWS AT FOOT BALL; but murdered, ſequeſtered, plundered, deprived, baniſhed to the plantations, or inſlaved, all their oppoſers who had loſt the game.

It is ſaid the world is governed by opinion; and politicians aſſure us, that all power is founded thereupon. Wherefore, as all human creatures are fond to diſtraction of their own opinions, and ſo much the more, as thoſe opinions are abſurd, ridiculous, or of little moment; it muſt follow, that they are equally fond of power But no opinions are maintained with ſo much obſtinacy as thoſe in religion, eſpecially by ſuch zealots, who never bore the leaſt regard to religion, conſcience, honour, juſtice, truth, mercy, or common morality, farther than in outward appearance, under the maſk of hypocriſy, to promote their diabolical deſigns. And therefore Biſhop Burnet, one of their oracles, tells us honeſtly, that the ſaints of thoſe fanatic times pronounced themſelves above morality; which

which they reckoned among beggarly elements; but the meaning of the two laſt words thus applied we confeſs to be above our underſtanding.

Among thoſe kingdoms and ſtates which firſt embraced the reformation, England appears to have received it in the moſt regular way; where it was introduced in a peaceable manner, by the ſupreme power of a King * and the three eſtates in parliament; to which, as the higheſt legiſlative authority, all ſubjects are bound paſſively to ſubmit. Neither was there much blood-ſhed on ſo great a change of religion. But a conſiderable number of Lords, and other perſons of quality through the kingdom, ſtill continued in their old faith, and were, notwithſtanding their difference in religion, employed in offices civil as well as military, more or leſs in every reign, until the teſt-act in the time of King Charles II. However, from the time of the reformation, the number of Catholics gradually and conſiderably leſſened. So that in the reign of King Charles I. England became in a great degree a Proteſtant kingdom, without taking the ſectaries into the number; the legality whereof, with reſpect to human laws, the Catholics never diſputed; but the Puritans, and other ſchiſmatics, without the leaſt pretence to any ſuch authority, by an open rebellion deſtroyed that legal reformation, as we obſerved before, murdered their King, and changed the monarchy into a republic. It is therefore not to be wondered at, if the Catholics, in ſuch a Babel of religions, choſe to adhere to their own faith left them by their anceſtors, rather than ſeek for a better among a rabble of hypocritical, rebellious, deluding knaves, or deluded enthuſiaſts.

We repeat once more, that if a national religion be changed by the ſupreme legiſlative power, we cannot diſpute the human legality of ſuch a change.

* Henry VIII.

But

But we humbly conceive, that if any conſiderabl party of men, which differs from an eſtabliſhmen either old or new, can deſerve liberty of conſcienc it ought to conſiſt of thoſe who for want of con viction, or of right underſtanding of the merits o each cauſe, conceive themſelves bound in conſcienc to adhere to the religion of their anceſtors; becauſ they are of all others the leaſt likely to be author of innovations, either in church or ſtate.

On the other ſide, if the reformation of religio be founded upon rebellion againſt the king, with out whoſe conſent, by the nature of our conſtitu tion, no law can paſs; if this reformation be in troduced by only one of the three eſtates, I mea the commons, and not by one half even of thoſ commons, and this by the aſſiſtance of a rebelliou army; again, if this reformation were carried o by the excluſion of nobles, both lay and ſpiritual (who conſtitute the other part of the three eſtates) by the murder of their King, and by the aboliſh ing the whole ſyſtem of government; the Catholic cannot ſee why the ſucceſſors of thoſe ſchiſmatics who are univerſally accuſed by all parties excep themſelves, and a few infamous abettors, for ſtil retaining the ſame principles in religion and go vernment, under which their predeceſſors acted ſhould pretend to a better ſhare of civil or military truſt, profit, and power, than the Catholics, who during all that period of twenty years, were conti nually perſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity, merely on account of their loyalty and conſtant adherence to kingly power.

We now come to thoſe arguments for repealing the ſacramental teſt, which equally affect the Ca tholics, and their brethren the Diſſenters.

Firſt, We agree with our fellow-diſſenters, that * " perſecution merely for conſcience-ſake is againſt

* *Vid.* Reaſons for the repeal of the ſacramental teſt.

" the

the genius of the gospel." And so likewise is any law for depriving men of their natural and civil rights, which they claim as men." We are also ready enough to allow, that "the smallest negative discouragements for uniformity's sake are so many persecutions." Because it cannot be denied, that the scratch of a pin is in some degree a real wound, as much as a stab through the heart. In like manner, an incapacity by law for any man to be made a judge, a colonel, or justice of the peace. "merely on a point of conscience, is a negative discouragement," and consequently, a real persecution: for in this case, the author of the pamphlet quoted in the * margin puts a very pertinent and powerful question: "If God be the sole Lord of the conscience, why should the rights of conscience be subject to human jurisdiction?" How to apply this to the Catholics: the belief of transubstantiation "is a matter purely of religion and conscience, which doth not affect the political interest of society, as such: therefore, why should the rights of conscience, whereof God is the sole Lord, be subject to human jurisdiction? and why should God be deprived of this right over a Catholic's conscience, any more than over that of any other Dissenter.

And whereas another author among our brethren the Dissenters hath very justly complained, that by this persecuting test-act great numbers of true Protestants have been forced to leave the kingdom and fly to the plantations, rather than stay here branded with an incapacity for civil and military employments; we do affirm, that the Catholics can bring many more instances of the same kind; some thousands of their religion having been forced by the sacramental test to retire into other countries, rather than live here under the incapacity of wearing

* *Vid.* Reasons for the repeal of the sacramental test.

ſwords, ſitting in parliament, and getting that ſha
of power and profit which belong to them as f
low Chriſtians, whereof they are deprived mere
upon account of conſcience, which would not
low them to take the ſacrament after the mann
preſcribed in the liturgy. Hence it clearly follow
in the words of the ſame author †, That " if
" Catholics are incapable of employments, we a
" puniſhed for our diſſent; that is, for our conſ
" ence, which wholly turns upon political con
" derations."

The Catholics are willing to acknowledge t
King's ſupremacy, whenever their brethren t
Diſſenters ſhall pleaſe to ſhew them an example.

Further, the Catholics, whenever their religi
ſhall come to be the national eſtabliſhed faith,
willing to undergo the ſame teſt offered by the
thor already quoted. His words are theſe: "To e
" this debate, by putting it upon a foot which I hc
" will appear to every impartial perſon a fair a
" equitable one: we Catholics propoſe, with ſi
" miſſion to the proper judges, that effectual ſecu
" ty be taken againſt perſecution, by obliging
" who are admitted into places of power and tru
" whatever their religious profeſſion be, in t
" moſt ſolemn manner to diſclaim perſecuti
" principles." It is hoped the public will take r
tice of theſe words; " whatever their religic
" profeſſion be;" which plainly include the C
tholics; and for which we return thanks to our d
ſenting brethren.

And whereas it is objected by thoſe of the eſ
bliſhed church, that if the ſchiſmatics and fanat
were once put into a capacity of poſſeſſing civil a
military employments, they would never be at ea
till they had raiſed their own way of worſhip in
the national religion through all his Majeſty's don
nions, equal with the true orthodox Scottiſh kirl

† See Reaſons againſt the teſt.

whi

hich when they had once brought to pafs, they ould no more allow liberty of conſcience to Epiſopal diſſenters, than they did in the time of the eat Engliſh rebellion, and in the ſucceeding faatic anarchy, till the King was reſtored. There another very learned ſchiſmatical pamphleteer*, ho, in anſwer to a malignant libel, called, *The resbyterians plea of merit*, &c. clearly wipes off is aſperſion, by aſſuring all Epiſcopal Proteſtants the preſent church upon his own word, and to his vn knowledge, that our brethren the Diſſenters ll never offer at ſuch an attempt. In like manr the Catholics, when legally required, will openly clare upon their words and honours, that as ſoon their negative diſcouragements and their perſetion ſhall be removed by repealing the ſacramen teſt, they will leave it entirely to the merits of e cauſe, whether the kingdom ſhall think fit to ake their faith the eſtabliſhed religion or not.

And again, whereas our Presbyterian brethren many of their pamphlets take much offence, that e great rebellion in England, the murder of the ng, with the entire change of religion and gornment, are perpetually objected againſt them both and out of ſeaſon, by our common enemy the eſent Conformiſts; we do declare, in the defence our ſaid brethren, that the reproach aforeſaid *an old worn-out threadbare cant*, which they always disdained to anſwer: and I very well remember, at having once told a certain Conformiſt, how uch I wondered to hear him and his tribe dwelg perpetually on ſo beaten a ſubject; he was plea to divert the diſcourſe with a fooliſh ſtory, which annot forbear telling to his diſgrace. He ſaid re was a clergyman in Yorkſhire, who for fifn years together preached every Sunday againſt drunkenneſs: whereat the pariſhioners being much

* Vindication of the Proteſtant Diſſenters.

offended, complained to the Archbishop; who having sent for the clergyman, and severely reprimanded him, the minister had no better an answer than by confessing the fact; adding, that all the parish were drunkards; that he desired to reclaim them from one vice, before he would begin upon another: and since they still continued to be as great drunkards as before, he resolved to go on except his Grace would please to forbid him.

We are very sensible how heavy an accusation lieth upon the Catholics of Ireland; that some years before King Charles II. was restored, when their and the King's forces were entirely reduced, and the kingdom declared by the Rump to be settled; after all his Majesty's generals were forced to fly to France, or other countries, the heads of the said Catholics who remained here in an enslaved condition, joined to send an invitation to the Duke of Lorrain; engaging, upon his appearing here with his forces, to deliver up the whole island to his power, and declare him their sovereign; which after the restoration was proved against them by Dean Boyle, since Primate, who produced the very original instrument at the board. The Catholics freely acknowledge the fact to be true; and at the same time appeal to all the world, whether a wiser, better, a more honourable, or more justifiable project could have been thought of. They were then reduced to slavery and beggary by the English rebels, many thousands of them murdered, the rest deprived of their estates, and driven to live on a small pittance in the wilds of Connaught; at a time when either the Rump or Cromwell absolutely governed the three kingdoms. And the question will turn upon this, whether the Catholics, deprived of all their possessions, governed with a rod of iron, and in utter despair of ever seeing the monarchy restored, for the preservation of which they had suffered so much, were to be blamed for calling in

foreign prince of their own religion, who had a onſiderable army to ſupport them, rather than ubmit to ſo infamous an uſurper as Cromwell, or ich a bloody and ignominious conventicle as the ump? And I have often heard not only our friends e Diſſenters, but even our common enemy the onformiſts, who are converſant in the hiſtory of oſe times, freely confeſs, that, conſidering the iſerable ſituation the Iriſh were then in, they could ot have thought of a braver or more virtuous atmpt; by which they might have been inſtruments of ſtoring the lawful monarch, at leaſt to the recory of England and Scotland, from thoſe betrays, and ſellers, and murderers of his royal faer.

To conclude, whereas the laſt-quoted author mplains very heavily and frequently of a BRAND at lies upon them, it is a great miſtake: for the ſt original BRAND hath been long taken off; onwe confeſs the ſcar will probably remain, and be ible for ever to thoſe who know the principles by hich they acted, and until thoſe principles ſhall openly renounced; elſe it muſt continue to all nerations, like the mark ſet upon Cain, which me authors ſay deſcended to all his poſterity; or ke the Roman noſe and Auſtrian lip, or like the g bag of fleſh hanging down from the gills of the ople in Piedmont. But as for any brands fixed ſchiſmatics for ſeveral years paſt, they have been made with *cold Iron*; like thieves who by the *benefit of the clergy* are condemned to be only burned the hand; but eſcape the pain and the mark by being in fee with the *jailor*. Which advantage the ſciſmatical teachers will never want, who, as we aſſured, and of which there is a very freſh inſtance, have the ſouls, and bodies, and purſes of their people a hundred times more at their mercy, an the Catholic prieſts could ever pretend to.

Therefore, upon the whole, the Catholics d humbly petition (without the leaſt inſinuation c threatening), that upon this favourable junctur their incapacity for civil and military employment may be wholly taken off, for the very ſame reaſon (beſides others more cogent) that are now offere by their brethren the Diſſenters.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, ſha ever pray, *&c.*

Dublin, Nov. 1733.

In this controverſy the author was again victorious, for the te was not repealed.

Som

Some REASONS againſt the BILL for ſettling the tithe of HEMP, FLAX, &c. by a *modus* *.

THE clergy did little expect to have any cauſe of complaint againſt the preſent houſe of Commons; who in the laſt ſeſſions were pleaſed to throw out a bill † ſent them from the Lords, which that Reverend body apprehended would be very injurious to them, if it paſſed into a law; and who in the preſent ſeſſions defeated the arts and endeavours of ſchiſmatics to repeal th. ſacramental teſt.

For although it hath been allowed on all hands, that the former of thoſe bills might by its neceſſary conſequences be very diſpleaſing to the lay gentlemen of the kingdom for many reaſons purely ſecular; and that this laſt attempt for repealing the teſt did much more affect at preſent the temporal intereſt, than the ſpiritual; yet the whole body of the lower clergy have, upon both thoſe occaſions, expreſſed equal gratitude to that honourable houſe for their juſtice and ſteadineſs, as if the clergy alone were to receive the benefit.

* Many eminent clergymen who oppoſed this ſcheme applied to Dr. Swift to write againſt it, which he readily conſented to upon their giving him ſome hints; and two days after, the following reaſons were preſented to ſeveral members of parliamentt which had ſo good an effect that the bill was dropped.

This pamphlet is entirely adapted to the clergy of Ireland. But I cannot avoid obſerving in it, a greater fund of calmneſs, not a leſs degree of ſpirit, than in many other of Swift's political writings. *Orry.*

† For the biſhops to divide livings.

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It muſt needs be therefore a great addition to the clergy's grief, that ſuch an aſſembly as the preſent houſe of Commons ſhould now, with an expedition more than uſual, agree to a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture with a clauſe, whereby the church is to loſe two parts in three of the legal tithe in flax and hemp.

Some reaſons why the clergy think ſuch a law will be a great hardſhip upon them are, I conceive, thoſe that follow. I ſhall venture to enumerate them with all deference due to that honourable aſſembly.

Firſt, the clergy ſuppoſe that they have not, by any fault or demerit, incurred the diſpleaſure of the nation's repreſentatives; neither can the declared loyalty of the preſent ſet, from the higheſt prelate to the loweſt vicar, be in the leaſt diſputed; becauſe there are hardly ten clergymen through the whole kingdom, for more than nineteen years paſt, who have not been either preferred entirely upon account of their declared affection to the Hanover line, or higher promoted as the due reward of the ſame merit.

There is not a landlord in the whole kingdom reſiding ſome part of the year at his country-ſeat, who is not in his own conſcience fully convinced that the tithes of his miniſter have gradually ſunk for ſome years paſt one third, or at leaſt one fourth of their former value, excluſive of all non-ſolvencies.

The payment of tithes in this kingdom is ſubject to ſo many frauds, brangles, and other difficulties, not only from Papiſts and Diſſenters, but even from thoſe who profeſs themſelves Proteſtants, that by the expenſe, the trouble, and vexation of collecting or bargaining for them, they are of all other rents the moſt precarious, uncertain, and ill paid.

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The landlords in moſt pariſhes expect, as a compliment, that they ſhould pay little more than half the value of the tithes for the lands they hold in their own hands; which often conſiſt of large domains: and it is the miniſter's intereſt to make them eaſy upon that article, when he conſiders what influence thoſe gentlemen have upon their tenants.

The clergy cannot but think it extremely ſevere, that, in a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture they alone muſt be the ſufferers, who can leaſt afford it. If, as I am told, there be a tax of three thouſand pounds a-year paid by the public for a farther encouragement to the ſaid manufacture, are not the clergy equal ſharers in the charge with the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects? what ſatisfactory reaſon can be therefore given why they alone ſhould bear the whole additional weight, unleſs it will be alledged that their property is not upon an equal foot with the properties of other men. They acquire their own ſmall pittance by at leaſt as honeſt means as their neighbours the landlords poſſeſs their eſtates; and have been always ſuppoſed, except in rebellious or fanatical times, to have as good a title; for no families now in being can ſhew a more ancient. Indeed, if it be true that ſome perſons (I hope they were not many) were ſeen to laugh when the rights of the clergy were mentioned; in this caſe an opinion may poſſibly be ſoon advanced, that they have no rights at all. And this is likely enough to gain ground, in proportion as the contempt of all religion ſhall increaſe, which is already in a very forward way.

It is ſaid, there will be alſo added in this bill a clauſe for diminiſhing the tithe of hops, in order to cultivate that uſeful plant among us; and here likewiſe the load is to lie entirely on the ſhoulders of the clergy, while the landlords reap all the benefit. It will not be eaſy to foreſee where ſuch proceedings

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are like to ſtop: or whether by the ſame authority, in civil times, a parliament may not as juſtly challenge the ſame power in reducing all things titheable, not below the tenth part of the product (which is and ever will be the clergy's equitable right) but from a tenth part to a ſixtieth or eightieth, and from thence to nothing.

I have heard it granted by ſkilful perſons, that the practice of taxing the clergy by parliament without their own conſent is a new thing, not much above the date of ſeventy years: before which period, in times of peace, they always taxed themſelves. But things are extremely altered at preſent; it is not now ſufficient to tax them in common with their fellow-ſubjects, without impoſing an additional tax upon them, from which, or from any thing equivalent, all their fellow-ſubjects are exempt; and this in a country profeſſing Chriſtianity.

The greateſt part of the clergy throughout this kingdom have been ſtripped of their glebes by the confuſion of times, by violence, fraud, oppreſſion and other unlawful means; all which glebes are now in the hands of the laity. So that they now are generally forced to lie at the mercy of land lords for a ſmall piece of ground in their pariſhes at a moſt exorbitant rent, and uſually for a ſhort term of years, whereon to build a houſe, and enable them to reſide. Yet, in ſpite of theſe diſadvantages, I am a witneſs, that they are generally more conſtant reſidents than their brethren in England; where the meaneſt vicar hath a convenient dwelling with a barn, a garden, and a field or two for his cattle; beſides the certainty of his little income from honeſt farmers, able and willing not only to pay him his dues, but likewiſe to make him preſents according to their ability for his better ſupport. In all which circumſtances the cler-

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gy of Ireland meet with a treatment directly contrary.

It is hoped the Honourable houſe will conſider, that it is impoſſible for the moſt ill-minded, avaricious, or cunning clergyman to do the leaſt injuſtice to the meaneſt cottager in his pariſh, in any bargain for tithes, or other eccleſiaſtical dues. He can, at the utmoſt, only demand to have his tithe fairly laid out; and does not once in a hundred times obtain his demand. But every tenant, from the pooreſt cottager to the moſt ſubſtantial farmer, can and generally doth impoſe upon the miniſter, by fraud, by theft, by lies, by perjuries, by inſolence, and ſometimes by force; notwithſtanding the utmoſt vigilance and ſkill of himſelf and his proctor. Inſomuch that it is allowed that the clergy in general receive little more than one half of their legal dues; not including the charges they are at in collecting or bargaining for them.

The land-rents of Ireland are computed to about two millions, whereof one tenth amounts to two hundred thouſand pounds. The beneficed clergymen, excluding thoſe of this city, are not reckoned to be above five hundred; by which computation they ſhould each of them poſſeſs two hundred pounds a-year, if thoſe tithes were equally divided, although in well-cultivated corn-countries it ought to be more; whereas they hardly receive one half of that ſum, with great defalcations, and in very bad payments. There are indeed a few glebes in the north pretty conſiderable; but if theſe and all the reſt were in like manner equally divided, they would not add five pounds a-year to every clergyman. Therefore, whether the condition of the clergy in general among us be juſtly liable to envy, or able to bear a heavy burden, which neither the nobility nor gentry, nor tradeſmen, nor farmers, will touch with one of their fingers; this, I ſay, is ſubmitted to the Honourable houſe.

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One terrible circumstance in this bill is, that o turning the tithe of flax and hemp into what th lawyers call a *modus*, or a certain sum in lieu of tenth part of the product. And by this practic of claiming a *modus* in many parishes by ancien custom, the clergy in both kingdoms have been al most incredible sufferers. Thus, in the presen case, the tithe of a tolerable acre of flax, which b a medium is worth twelve shillings, is by the pre sent bill reduced to four shillings. Neither is thi the worst part in a *modus*; every determinate sun must, in process of time sink from a fourth to four and twentieth part, or a great deal lower by that necessary fall attending the value of money which is now at least nine tenths lower all ove Europe than it was four hundred years ago, by gradual decline; and even a third part at leas within our own memories in purchasing almost e very thing required for the necessities or conveni encies of life: as any gentleman can attest, wh hath kept house for twenty years past. And this wil equally affect poor countries as well as rich. For although I look upon it as an impossibility that thi kingdom should ever thrive under its present dis advantages, which without a miracle must still in crease; yet, when the whole cash of the natio shall sink to fifty thousand pounds, we must in al our traffic abroad either of import or export go b the general rate, at which money is valued in thos countries that enjoy the common privileges of hu mankind. For this reason no corporation (if th clergy may presume to call themselves one) shoul by any means grant away their properties in per petuity upon any consideration whatsoever; whic is a rock that many corporations have split upon t their great impoverishment, and sometimes to thei utter undoing: because they are supposed to subsis for ever, and because no determination of money is of any certain perpetual intrinsic value. This is known

nown enough in England, where eſtates let for ver, ſome hundred years ago, by ſeveral ancient oble families, do not at this preſent pay their oſterity a twentieth part of what they are now orth at an eaſy rent.

A tax affecting one part of a nation, which already bears its full ſhare in all parliamentary impotions, cannot poſſibly be juſt, except it be inflicted as a puniſhment upon that body of men, which taxed for ſome great demerit or danger to the ublic, apprehended from thoſe upon whom it is id: thus the Papiſts and Nonjurors have been oubly taxed, for refuſing to give proper ſecurities the government; which cannot be objected ainſt the clergy. And therefore if this bill ſhould aſs, I think it ought to be with a preface, ſhewing herein they have offended, and for what diſaffecon or other crime they are puniſhed.

If an additional exciſe upon ale, or a duty upon eſh and bread were to be enacted, neither the vicualler, butcher, or baker, would bear any more f the charge than for what themſelves conſumed, ut it would be an equal general tax through the hole kingdom: whereas by this bill the clergy ane are avowedly condemned to be deprived of eir ancient, inherent, undiſputed rights, in order encourage a manufacture by which all the reſt of e kingdom are ſuppoſed to be gainers.

This bill is directly againſt *magna charta*, where the firſt clauſe is for confirming the inviolable ghts of holy church; as well as contrary to the th taken by all our kings at their coronation, here they ſwear to defend and protect the church all rights.

A tax laid upon employment is a very different ing. The poſſeſſors of civil and military employents are no corporation; neither are they any rt of our conſtitution; their ſalaries, pay, and rquiſites are all changeable at the pleaſure of the

prince who beſtows them, although the army b
paid from funds raiſed and appropriated by the le
giſlature. But the clergy, as they have little rea
ſon to expect, ſo they deſire no more than thei
ancient legal dues; only indeed with the remova
of many grievous impediments in the collection o
them; which is to be feared they muſt wait fo
until more favourable times. It is well known
that they have already, of their own accord, ſhew
great indulgence to their people upon this very ar
ticle of flax, ſeldom taking above a fourth part c
their tithe for ſmall parcels, and oftentimes nothin
at all from new beginners; waiting with patience un
til the farmers were able, and until great quantitie
of land were employed in that part of huſbandry
never ſuſpecting that their good intentions ſhoul
be perverted in ſo ſingular a manner to their detr
ment, by that very aſſembly which, during the tim
that convocations (which are an original part c
our conſtitution, ever ſince Chriſtianity became na
tional among us) are thought fit to be ſuſpended
God knows for what reaſon, or from what provo
cations; I ſay, from that very aſſembly, who, dur
ing the intervals of convocations, ſhould rather b
ſuppoſed to be guardians of the rights and proper
ties of the clergy, than to make the leaſt attemp
upon either.

I have not heard upon inquiry, that any of thoſ
gentlemen who among us without doors are calle
the court party, diſcover the leaſt zeal in this affair
If they had thoughts to interpoſe, it might be con
ceived they would ſhew their diſpleaſure againſt thi
bill, which muſt very much leſſen the value of th
King's patronage upon promotion to vacant ſees
in the diſpoſal of denearies, and other conſiderabl
preferments in the church, which are in the dona
tion of the crown; whereby the viceroys will hav
fewer good preferments to beſtow on their de
pendents, as well as upon the kindred of members
wh

who may have a ſufficient ſtock of that ſort of merit, whatever it may be, which may in future times moſt prevail.

The Diſſenters, by not ſucceeding in their endeavours to procure a repeal of the teſt, have loſt nothing, but continue in a full enjoyment of their toleration; while the clergy, without giving the leaſt offence, are by this bill deprived of a conſiderable branch of their ancient legal rights, whereby the ſchiſmatical party will have the pleaſure of gratifying their revenge——*hoc Gratii voluere.*

The farmer will find no relief by this *modus*, becauſe when his preſent leaſe ſhall expire, his landlord will infallibly raiſe the rent in an equal proportion, upon every part of land where flax is ſown, and have ſo much a better ſecurity for payment at the expenſe of the clergy.

If we judge by things paſt, it little avails that this bill is to be limited to a certain time of ten, twenty, or thirty years. For no landlord will ever conſent that a law ſhall expire, by which he finds himſelf a gainer; and of this there are many examples as well in England as in this kingdom.

The great end of this bill is, by proper encouragement to extend the linen manufacture into thoſe countries where it hath hitherto been little cultivated: but this encouragement of leſſening the tithe of flax and hemp, is one of ſuch a kind as, it is to be feared, will have a directly contrary effect. Becauſe, if I am rightly informed, no ſet of men hath, for their number and fortunes, been more induſtrious and ſucceſsful than the clergy, in introducing that manufacture into places which were unacquainted with it, by perſuading their people to ſow flax and hemp, by procuring ſeed for them, and by having them inſtructed in the management thereof; and this they did not without reaſonable hopes of increaſing the value of their pariſhes after ſome time, as well as of

promoting the benefit of the public. But if this *modus* ſhould take place, the clergy will be ſo far from gaining, that they will become loſers by their extraordinary care, by having their arable lands turned to flax and hemp, which are reckoned great impoveriſhers of land: they cannot therefore be blamed, if they ſhould ſhew as much zeal to prevent its being introduced or improved in their pariſhes, as they hitherto have ſhewed in the introducing and improving it. This, I am told, ſome of them have already declared, at leaſt ſo far as to reſolve not to give themſelves any more trouble than other men, about promoting a manufacture by the ſucceſs of which they only, of all men, are to be the ſufferers. Perhaps the giving even a farther encouragement than the law doth, as it now ſtands, to a ſet of men who might, on many accounts, be ſo uſeful to this purpoſe, would be no bad method of having the great end of the bill more effectually anſwered: but this is what they are far from deſiring; all they petition for is no more than to continue on the ſame footing with the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects.

If this *modus* of paying by the acre be to paſs into a law, it were to be wiſhed, that the ſame law would not only appoint one or more ſworn ſurveyors in each pariſh, to meaſure the lands on which flax and hemp are ſown, but alſo ſettle the price of ſurveying, and determine whether the incumbent or farmer is to pay for each annual ſurvey. Without ſomething of this kind, there muſt conſtantly be diſputes between them, and the neighbouring juſtices of peace muſt be teized as often as thoſe diſputes happen.

I had written thus far, when a paper was ſent to me with ſeveral reaſons againſt the bill, ſome whereof, although they have been already touched, are put in a better light, and the reſt did not occur

to

to me. I ſhall deliver them in the author's own words.

I. That tithes are the patrimony of the church; and if not of divine original, yet at leaſt of great antiquity.

II. That all purchaſes and leaſes of tithable lands, for many centuries paſt, have been made and taken, ſubject to the demand of tithes, and thoſe lands ſold and taken juſt ſo much the cheaper on that account.

III. That if any lands are exempted from tithes, or the legal demands of ſuch tithes leſſened by act of parliament, ſo much value is taken from the proprietor of the tithes, and veſted in the proprietor of the lands, or his head tenants.

IV. That no innocent unoffending perſon can be ſo deprived of his property, without the greateſt violation of common juſtice.

V. That to do this upon a proſpect of encouraging the linen or any other manufacture, is acting upon a very miſtaken and unjuſt ſuppoſition; inaſmuch as the price of the lands ſo occupied will be no way leſſened to the farmer by ſuch a law.

VI. That the clergy are content chearfully to bear (as they do now) any burthen in common with their fellow-ſubjects, either for the ſupport of his Majeſty's government, or the encouragement of the trade of the nation; but think it very hard that they ſhould be ſingled out to pay heavier taxes than others, at a time when, by the decreaſe of the value of their pariſhes, they are leſs able to bear them.

VII. That the legiſlature hath therefore diſtinguiſhed the clergy by exemptions, and not by additional loads; and the preſent clergy of the kingdom hope, they have not deſerved worſe of the legiſlature than their predeceſſors.

VIII. That, by the original conſtitution of theſe kingdoms, the clergy had the ſole right of taxing themſelves, and were in poſſeſſion of that right as low as the reſtoration; and if that right be now devolved upon the Commons by the ceſſion of the clergy, the Commons can be conſidered in this caſe in no other light than as the guardians of the clergy.

IX. That beſides thoſe tithes always in the poſſeſſion of the clergy, there are ſome portions of tithes lately come into their poſſeſſion by purchaſe; that if this clauſe ſhould take place, they would not be allowed the benefit of theſe purchaſers upon an equal foot of advantage with the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects. And that ſome tithes in the hands of improprietors are under ſettlements and mortgages.

X. That the gentlemen of this houſe ſhould conſider, that loading the clergy is loading their own younger brothers and children, with this additional grievance, that it is taking from the younger and poorer to give to the elder and richer: and.

Laſtly, That if it were at any time juſt and proper to do this, it would however be too ſevere to do it now, when all the tithes of the kingdom are known for ſome years paſt to have ſunk above one third part in their value.

Any income in the hands of the clergy is at leaſt as uſeful to the public as the ſame income in the hands of the laity.

It were more reaſonable to grant the clergy in three parts of the nation an additional ſupport than to diminiſh their preſent ſubſiſtence.

Great employments are and will be in the hands of Engliſhmen; nothing left for the younger ſons of Iriſhmen but vicarages, tide-waiters places, *&c.* therefore no reaſon to make them worſe.

The *modus* upon the flax in England affects only lands reclaimed ſince the year 1690, and is at the

he rate of five ſhillings the Engliſh acre, which is equivalent to eight ſhillings and eight pence Iriſh, and that to be paid before the farmer removed it from the field. Flax is a manufacture of little conſequence in England, but is the ſtaple in Ireland, and if it increaſes, (as it probably will), muſt in many places joſtle out corn, becauſe it is more gainful.

The clergy of the eſtabliſhed church have no intereſt, like thoſe of the church of Rome, diſtinct from the true intereſt of their country, and therefore ought to ſuffer under no diſtinct impoſitions or taxes of any kind.

The bill for ſettling the modus of flax in England was brought in the firſt year of the reign of K. George . when the clergy lay very unjuſtly under the imputation of ſome diſaffection; and to encourage he bringing in of ſome fens in Lincolnſhire which were not to be continued under flax; but it left all ands where flax had been ſown before that time nder the ſame condition of tithing, in which they were before the paſſing of that bill: whereas this ill takes away what the clergy are actually poſſeſſd of.

That the woollen manufacture is the ſtaple of England, as the linen is that of Ireland, yet no attempt was ever made in England to reduce the ithe of wool for the encouragement of that manufacture This manufacture hath already been remarkably favoured by the clergy, who have hitherto been generally content with leſs than half, ſome with ſix-pence a-garden, and ſome have taken nothing.

Employments, they ſay, have been taxed; the reaſons for which taxations will not hold with regard to property, at leaſt till employments become inheritances. The Commons always have had ſo tender

tender a regard to property, that they never would suffer any law to paſs, whereby any particular perſons might be aggrieved without their own conſent.

N. B. Some alterations have been made in the bill about the *modus*, ſince the above paper was written; but they are of little moment.

A

A modeſt PROPOSAL for preventing the CHILDREN of POOR PEOPLE in IRELAND from being a Burden to their Parents or Country, and for making them beneficial to the Public.

IT is a melancholy object to thoſe who walk thro' this great town, or travel in the country, when they ſee the ſtreets, the roads, and cabin-doors crouded with beggars of the female ſex, followed by three, four, or ſix children, all in rags, and importuning every paſſenger for an alms. Theſe mothers, inſtead of being able to work for their honeſt livelihood, are forced to employ all their time in ſtrolling to beg ſuſtenance for their helpleſs infants, who, as they grow up, either turn thieves for want of work, or leave their dear native country to fight for the pretender in Spain, or ſell themſelves to Barbadoes.

I think it is agreed by all parties, that this prodigious number of children in the arms, or on the backs, or at the heels of their mothers, and frequently of their fathers, is, in the preſent deplorable ſtate of the kingdom, a very great additional grievance; and therefore, whoever could find out a fair, cheap, and eaſy method of making theſe children ſound and uſeful members of the commonwealth, would deſerve ſo well of the public, as to have his ſtatue ſet up for a preſerver of the nation.

But my intention is very far from being confined to provide only for the children of profeſſed beggars; it is of a much greater extent, and ſhall take in

in the whole number of infants at a certain age who are born of parents in effect as little able to support them, as those who demand our charity in the streets.

As to my own part, having turned my thoughts for many years upon this important subject, and maturely weighed the several schemes of our projectors, I have always found them grosly mistaken in their computation. It is true, a child just dropt from its dam may be supported by her milk for a solar year, with little other nourishment: at most not above the value of two shillings, which the mother may certainly get, or the value in scraps by her lawful occupation of begging; and it is exactly at one year old that I propose to provide for them in such a manner, as instead of being a charge upon their parents, or the parish, or wanting food and raiment for the rest of their lives, they shall, on the contrary, contribute to the feeding, and partly to the cloathing of many thousands.

There is likewise another great advantage in my scheme, that it will prevent those voluntary abortions, and that horrid practice of women murdering their bastard-children, alas! too frequent among us, sacrificing the poor innocent babes, I doubt more to avoid the expense than the shame, which would move tears and pity in the most savage and inhuman breast.

The number of souls in this kingdom being usually reckoned one million and a half, of these I calculate there may be about two hundred thousand couple, whose wives are breeders; from which number I subtract thirty thousand couple, who are able to maintain their own children, (although I apprehend there cannot be so many under the present distresses of the kingdom); but this being granted, there will remain an hundred and seventy thousand breeders. I can again subtract fifty thousand for those women who miscarry, or whose children

children die by accident or diſeaſe within the year. There only remain an hundred and twenty thouſand children of poor parents annually born. The queſtion therefore is, How this number ſhall be reared and provided for? which, as I have already ſaid, under the preſent ſituation of affairs is utterly impoſſible by all the methods hitherto propoſed. For we can neither employ them in handicraft or agriculture; we neither build houſes, (I mean in the country), nor cultivate land: they can very ſeldom pick up a livelihood by ſtealing, till they arrive at ſix years old, except where they are very towardly parts; although I confeſs they learn the rudiments much earlier; during which time they can however be properly looked upon only as *probationers*; as I have been informed by a principal gentleman in the county of Cavan, who proteſted to me, that he never knew above one or two inſtances under the age of ſix, even in a part of the kingdom ſo renowned for the quickeſt proficiency in that art.

I am aſſured by our merchants, that a boy or a girl before twelve years old is no ſaleable commodity; and even when they come to this age, they will not yield above three pounds, or three pounds and half a crown at moſt, on the exchange, which cannot turn to account either to the parents or kingdom, the charge of nutriment and rags having been at leaſt four times that value.

I ſhall now therefore humbly propoſe my own thoughts, which I hope will not be liable to the leaſt objection

I have been aſſured by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London, that a young healthy child, well nurſed, is at a year old a moſt delicious, nouriſhing, and wholſome food, whether ſtewed, roaſted, baked, or boiled; and I make no doubt that it will equally ſerve in a fricaſſe, or a ragouſt.

I do therefore humbly offer it to public consideration, that of the hundred and twenty thousand children already computed, twenty thousand may be reserved for breed, whereof only one fourth part to be males; which is more than we allow to sheep, black cattle, or swine; and my reason is that these children are seldom the fruits of marriage a circumstance not much regarded by our savages therefore one male will be sufficient to serve four females. Then the remaining hundred thousand may, at a year old, be offered in sale to the person of quality and fortune through the kingdom; always advising the mother to let them suck plentifully in the last month, so as to render them plump, and fat for a good table. A child will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends; and when the family dines alone, the fore or hind quarter will make a reasonable dish, and seasoned with a little pepper or salt, will be very good boiled on the fourth day especially in winter.

I have reckoned, upon a medium, that a child just born will weigh 12 pounds, and in a solar year if tolerably nursed, will increase to 28 pounds.

I grant this food will be somewhat dear, and therefore very proper for landlords, who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to the children.

Infants flesh will be in season throughout the year, but more plentiful in March, and a little before and after; for we are told by a grave author*, an eminent French physician, that fish being a prolific diet, there are more children born in Roman Catholic countries about nine months after Lent. than at any other season; therefore reckoning a year after Lent, the markets will be more glutted than usual, because the number of Popish infants is at least three to one in this kingdom; and there-

* Rabelais.

fore

fore it will have one other collateral advantage by leſſening the number of Papiſts among us.

I have already computed the charge of nurſing a begar's child (in which liſt I reckon all cottagers, labourers, and four fifths of the farmers) to be about two ſhillings *per annum*, rags included; and I believe no gentleman would repine to given ten ſhillings for the carcaſe of a good fat child, which, as I have ſaid, will make four diſhes of excellent nutritive meat, when he hath only ſome particular friend or his own family to dine with him. Thus the ſquire will learn to be a good landlord, and grow popular among his tenants, the mother will have eight ſhillings neat profit, and be fit for work, till ſhe produces another child.

Thoſe who are more thrifty (as I muſt confeſs the times require) may flay the carcaſe: the ſkin of which, artificially dreſſed, will make admirable gloves for ladies, and ſummer-boots for fine gentlemen.

As to our city of Dublin, ſhambles may be appointed for this purpoſe in the moſt convenient parts of it, and butchers we may be aſſured will not be wanting; although I rather recommend buying the children alive, and dreſſing them hot from the knife, as we do roaſting pigs.

A very worthy perſon, a true lover of his country, and whoſe virtues I highly eſteem, was lately conſulted, in diſcourſing on this matter, to offer a refinement upon my ſcheme. He ſaid, that many gentlemen of this kingdom having of late deſtroyed their deer, he conceived that the want of veniſon might be well ſupplied by the bodies of young lads and maidens, not exceeding fourteen years of age, or under twelve; ſo great a number of both ſexes in every county being now ready to ſtarve for want of work and ſervice; and theſe to be diſpoſed of by their parents, if alive, or otherwiſe by their neareſt relations. But, with due deference to ſo

excellent a friend, and so deserving a patriot, I cannot be altogether in his sentiments: for, as to the males, my American acquaintance assured me, from frequent experience, that their flesh was generally tough and lean, like that of our schoolboys, by continual exercise, and their taste disagreeable, and to fatten them would not answer the charge. Then, as to the females, it would, I think, with humble submission, be a loss to the public, because they soon would become breeders themselves: and besides, it is not improbable, that some scrupulous people might be apt to censure such a practice (although indeed very unjustly), as a little bordering upon cruelty; which, I confess, hath always been with me the strongest objection against any project how well soever intended.

But, in order to justify my friend, he confessed that this expedient was put into his head by the famour Salmanazor, a native of the island of Formosa, who came from thence to London above twenty years ago, and, in conversation, told my friend, that, in his country, when any young person happened to be put to death, the executioner sold the carcases to persons of quality as a prime dainty; and that in his time the body of a plump girl of fifteen, who was crucified for an attempt to poison the Emperor, was sold to his imperial Majesty's prime minister of state, and other great mandarines of the court, in joints from the gibbet, at four hundred crowns. Neither indeed can I deny, that if the same use were made of several plump young girls in this town, who, without one single groat to their fortunes, cannot stir abroad without a chair, and appear at a playhouse and assemblies in foreign fineries which they never will pay for, the kingdom would not be the worse.

Some persons of a desponding spirit are in great concern about the vast number of poor people, who are aged, diseased, or maimed; and I have been

desired

desired to employ my thoughts, what course may be taken to ease the nation of so grievous an incumbrance. But I am not in the least pain upon that matter, because it is very well known, that they are every day dying, and rotting, by cold and famine, and filth and vermine, as fast as can be reasonably expected. And as to the young labourers, they are now in almost as hopeful a condition: they cannot get work, and consequently pine away for want of nourishment, to a degree, that if at any time they are accidentally hired to common labour, they have not strength to perform it; and thus the country and themselves are happily delivered from the evils to come.

I have too long digressed, and therefore shall return to my subject. I think the advantages by the proposal which I have made, are obvious and many, as well as of the highest importance.

For, first, as I have already observed, it would greatly lessen the number of Papists, with whom we are yearly over-run, being the principal breeders of the nation, as well as our most dangerous enemies, and who stay at home on purpose to deliver the kingdom to the Pretender, hoping to take their advantage by the absence of so many good Protestants, who have chosen rather to leave their country, than stay at home and pay tithes against their conscience to an Episcopal curate.

Secondly, The poorer tenants will have something valuable of their own, which by law may be made liable to a distress, and help to pay their landlord's rent; their corn and cattle being already seized, and money a thing unknown.

Thirdly, Whereas the maintenance of an hundred thousand children, from two years old and upwards, cannot be computed at less than ten shillings a-piece *per annum* the nation's stock will be thereby increased fifty thousand pounds *per annum*, besides the profit of a new dish introduced to the

tables of all gentlemen of fortune in the kingdom who have any refinement in taſte. And the money will circulate among ourſelves, the goods being entirely of our own growth and manufacture

Fourthly, The conſtant breeders, beſides the gain of eight ſhillings Sterling *per annum* by the ſale of their children, will be rid of the charge of maintaining them after the firſt year.

Fifthly, This food will likewiſe bring great cuſtom to taverns; where the vintners will certainly be ſo prudent as to procure the beſt receipts for dreſſing it to perfection, and conſequently have their houſes frequented by all the fine gentlemen who juſtly value themſelves upon their knowledge in good eating; and a ſkilful cook, who underſtands how to oblige his gueſts, will contrive to make it as expenſive as they pleaſe.

Sixthly, This would be a great inducement to marriage, which all wiſe nations have either encouraged by rewards, or enforced by laws and penalties. It would increaſe the care and tenderneſs of mothers towards their children, when they were ſure of a ſettlement for life to the poor babes, provided in ſome ſort by the public, to their annual profit inſtead of expenſe. We ſhould ſoon ſee an honeſt emulation among the married women, which of them could bring the fatteſt child to the market. Men would become as fond of their wives during the time of their pregnancy, as they are now of their mares in foal, their cows in calf, or ſows when they are ready to farrow; nor offer to beat or kick them (as is too frequent a practice) for fear of miſcarriage.

Many other advantages might be enumerated. For inſtance, the addition of ſome thouſand carcaſes in our exportation of barreled beef: the propagation of ſwines fleſh, and improvement in the art of making good bacon, ſo much wanted among us by the great deſtruction of pigs, too frequent at our

our tables; which are no way comparable, in taſte or magnificence, to a well-grown, fat, yearly child, which, roaſted whole, will make a conſiderable figure at a Lord Mayor's feaſt, or any other public entertainment. But this, and many others, I omit, being ſtudious of brevity.

Suppoſing that one thouſand families in this city would be conſtant cuſtomers for infant's fleſh, beſides others who might have it at merry meetings, particularly at weddings and chriſtenings, I compute, that Dublin would take off annually about twenty thouſand carcaſes; and the reſt of the kingdom (where probably they will be ſold ſomewhat cheaper) the remaining eighty thouſand.

I can think of no one objection, that will poſſibly be raiſed againſt this propoſal, unleſs it ſhould be urged, that the number of people will be thereby much leſſened in the kingdom. This I freely own, and it was indeed one principal deſign in offering it to the world. I deſire the reader will obſerve, that I calculate my remedy "for this one individual kingdom of IRELAND, and for no other that ever was, is, or, I think, ever can be upon earth. *Therefore let no man talk to me of other expedients*: of taxing our abſentees at five ſhillings a pound: of uſing neither cloaths nor houſehold furniture, except what is of our own growth and manufacture: of utterly rejecting the materials and inſtruments that promote foreign luxury: of curing the expenſiveneſs of pride, vanity, idleneſs, and gaming in our women; of introducing a vein of parſimony, prudence, and temperance: of learning to love our country, in the want of which we differ even from *Laplanders*, and the inhabitants of *Topinambos*: of quitting our animoſities and factions, nor acting any longer like the Jews, who were murdering one another at the very moment the city was taken; of being a little cau-

" tious not to sell our country and consciences for
" nothing: of teaching landlords to have at least
" one degree of mercy towards their tenants. *Lastly*,
" Of putting a spirit of honesty, industry, and
" skill into our shopkeepers, who, if a resolution
" could now be taken to buy only our native
" goods, would immediately unite to cheat and
" exact upon us in the price, the measure, and
" the goodness, nor could ever yet be brought
" to make one fair proposal of just dealing, though
" often and earnestly invited to it."

Therefore I repeat, let no man talk to me of these and the like expedients *, till he hath at least some glimpse of hope, that there will ever be some hearty and sincere attempt to put them in practice.

But, as to myself having been wearied out for many years with offering vain, idle, visionary thoughts, and at length utterly despairing of success, I fortunately fell upon this proposal; which as it is wholly new, so it hath something solid and real, of no expense and little trouble, full in our own power, and whereby we can incur no danger in disobliging England. For this kind of commodity will not bear exportation, the flesh being of too tender a consistence to admit a long continuance in salt, " although, perhaps, I could name a country " which would be glad to eat up our whole " nation without it."

After all, I am not so violently bent upon my own opinion as to reject any offer proposed by wiser men, which shall be found equally innocent, cheap, easy and effectual. But before something of that kind shall be advanced in contradiction to my

* These expedients had been proposed before, some of them by the Dean, and to urge the practice of them by shewing the only alternative, seems to have been the design of this paper.

scheme

cheme, and offering a better, I desire the author or authors will be pleased maturely to consider two points. *First*, As things now stand, how they will be able to find food and raiment for a hundred thousand useless mouths and backs. And, *secondly*, there being a round million of creatures in human figure throughout this kingdom, whose whole subsistence put into a common stock would leave them in debt two millions of pounds sterling, adding those who are beggars by profession, to the bulk of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, with their wives and children, who are beggars in effect; I desire those politicians who dislike my overture, and may perhaps be so bold to attempt an answer, that they will first ask the parents of these mortals, whether they would not at this day think it a great happiness to have been sold for food at a year old, in the manner I prescribe, and thereby have avoided such a perpetual scene of misfortunes, as they have since gone through, by the oppression of landlords, the impossibility of paying rent without money or trade, the want of common sustenance, with neither house nor cloaths to cover them from the inclemencies of the weather, and the most inevitable prospect of entailing the like, or greater miseries upon their breed for ever.

I profess, in the sincerity of my heart, that I have not the least personal interest in endeavouring to promote this necessary work, having no other motive than the "public good of my country, by "advancing our trade, providing for infants, relieving the poor, and giving some pleasure to "the rich." I have no children, by which I can propose to get a single penny; the youngest being nine years old, and my wife past childbearing.

To

To the Honourable Houſe of Commons, *&c.*

The humble Petition of the FOOTMEN in and about the city of Dublin.

Written in the year 1732.

Humbly ſheweth,

THAT your petitioners are a great and numerous ſociety, endowed with ſeveral privileges time out of mind.

That certain lewd, idle, and diſorderly perſons for ſeveral months paſt, as it is notoriouſly known, have been daily ſeen in the public walks of this city; habited ſometimes in green coats and ſometimes laced, with long caken cudgels in their hands, and without ſwords; in hopes to procure favour, by that advantage, with a great number of ladies who frequent thoſe walks; pretending and giving themſelves out to be true genuine Iriſh *footmen*; whereas they can be proved to be no better than common *toupees*, as a judicious eye may ſoon diſcover, by their awkward, clumſey, ungenteel gait and behaviour: by their unſkilfulneſs in dreſs even with the advantage of our habits; by their ill-favoured countenances, with an air of impudence and dulneſs peculiar to the reſt of their brethren, who have not yet arrived at that tranſcendent pitch of aſſurance; although it may be juſtly apprehended that they will do ſo in time, if theſe counterfeits ſhall happen to ſucceed in their evil deſign of paſſing

aſſing for real footmen, thereby to render themelves more amiable to the ladies.

Your petitioners do farther alledge, that many f the ſaid counterfeits, upon a ſtrict examination, ave been found in the act of ſtrutting, ſtaring, wearing, ſwaggering, in a manner that plainly hewed their beſt endeavours to imitate us. Wherein, although they did not ſucceed, yet by their ignorant and ungainly way of copying our graces, he utmoſt indignity was endeavoured to be caſt pon our whole profeſſion.

Your petitioners do therefore make it their umble requeſt, that this Honourable houſe (to many of whom your petitioners are nearly allied) vill pleaſe to take this grievance into your moſt ſeious conſideration; humbly ſubmitting, whether would not be proper, that certain officers might, t the public charge, be employed to ſearch for, nd diſcover all ſuch counterfeit footmen; to carry hem before the next juſtice of peace, by whoſe varrant, upon the firſt conviction, they ſhould be tripped of their coats and oaken ornaments, and e ſet two hours in the ſtocks: upon the ſecond onviction, beſides ſtripping, be ſet ſix hours in he ſtocks, with a paper pinned on their breaſts, ignifying their crime, in large capital letters, and n the following words: "A. B. commonly cal- ' led A. B .Eſq; a toupee, and a notorious im- ' poſtor, who preſumed to perſonate a true Iriſh ' footman."

And for any other offence, the ſaid toupee ſhall e committed to Bridewell, whipped three times, orced to hard labour for a month, and not to be et at liberty till he ſhall have ſufficient ſecurity for is good behaviour.

Your Honours will pleaſe to obſerve, with what enity we propoſe to treat theſe enormous offenders, who have already brought ſuch a ſcandal on our onourable calling, that ſeveral well-meaning people

ple have miſtaken them to be of our fraternity, diminution to that credit and dignity where we have ſupported our ſtation, as we always di in the worſt of times. And we further beg lea to remark, that this was manifeſtly done with a f ditious deſign to render us leſs capable of ſervi the public in any great employments, as ſeveral our fraternity, as well as our anceſtors have done

We do therefore humbly implore your Honou to give neceſſary orders for our relief in this pr ſent exigency, and your petitioners (as in du bound) ſhall ever pray, *&c.*

A PRO-

A PROPOSAL for giving Badges to the BEGGARS in all the Parishes of Dublin.

By the DEAN of ST. PATRICK's.

Written in the Year 1737.

IT hath been a general complaint, that the poor-house (especially since the new constitution by act of parliament) hath been of no benefit to this city, for the ease of which it was wholly intended. I had the honour to be a member of it many years before it was new modelled by the legislature; not from any personal regard, but merely as one of the two Deans, who are of course put into most commissions that relate to the city; and I have likewise the honour to have been left out of several commissions upon the score of party, in which my predecessors, time out of mind, have always been members.

The first commission was made up of about fifty persons, which were the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and some few other citizens; the Judges, the two Archbishops, the two Deans of the city, and one or two more gentlemen. And I must confess my opinion, that the dissolving the old commission, and establishing a new one of near three times the number, have been the great cause of rendering so good a design not only useless, but a grievance instead of a benefit to the city. In the present commission all the city clergy are included, besides a great number of squires, not only those who

who reſide in Dublin and the neighbourhood, bu
ſeveral who live at a great diſtance, and cann
poſſibly have the leaſt concern for the advantage
the city.

At the few general meetings that I have attende
ſince the new eſtabliſhment, I obſerved very litt
was done except one or two acts of extreme juſtic
which I then thought might as well have been ſpa
ed: and I have found the court of aſſiſtants uſua
ly taken up in little wrangles about coachmen,
adjuſting accounts of meal and ſmall beer; whic
however neceſſary, might ſometimes have give
place to matters of much greater moment, I mea
ſome ſchemes recommended to the general boa
for anſwering the chief ends in erecting and eſt
bliſhing ſuch a poor-houſe, and endowing it wi
ſo conſiderable a revenue: and the principal end
take to have been that of maintaining the poor ar
orphans of the city, where the pariſhes are not ab
to do it; and clearing the ſtreets from all ſtroller
foreigners, and ſturdy beggars, with which, to th
univerſal complaint and admiration, Dublin
more infeſted ſince the eſtabliſhment of the poo
houſe, than it was ever known to be ſince its fir
erection.

As the whole fund for ſupporting this hoſpital
raiſed only from the inhabitants of the city; I
there can be hardly any thing more abſurd than t
ſee it miſemployed in maintaining foreign begga
and baſtards, or orphans of farmers, whoſe cour
try landlords never contributed one ſhilling towar
their ſupport. I would engage, that half this re
venue, if employed with common care, and no ve
ry great degree of common honeſty, would main
tain all the real objects of charity in this city, ex
cept a ſmall number of original poor in every pa
riſh, who might, without being burthenſome t
the pariſhioners, find a tolerable ſupport.

I have, for ſome years paſt, applied myſelf t
ſevera

ſeveral Lord Mayors, and the late Archbiſhop of Dublin, for a remedy to this evil of foreign beggars; and they all appeared ready to receive a very plain propoſal, I mean that of badging the original poor of every pariſh, who begged in the ſtreets; that the ſaid beggars ſhould be confined to their own pariſhes; that they ſhould wear their badges well ſewn upon one of their ſhoulders, always viſible, on pain of being whipped and turned out of town; or whatever legal puniſhment may be thought proper and effectual. But, by the wrong way of thinking in ſome clergymen, and the indifference of others, this method was perpetually defeated, to their own continual diſquiet, which they do not ill deſerve; and if the grievance affected only them, it would be of leſs conſequence; becauſe the remedy is in their own power: but all ſtreet-walkers and ſhopkeepers bear an equal ſhare in its hourly vexation.

I never heard more than one objection againſt this expedient of badging the poor, and confining their walks to their ſeveral pariſhes. The objection was this: What ſhall we do with the foreign beggars? muſt they be left to ſtarve? I anſwered, No; but they muſt be driven or whipped out of town; and let the next country-pariſh do as they pleaſe, or rather, after the practice in England, ſend them from one pariſh to another, until they reach their own homes. By the old laws of England ſtill in force, every pariſh is bound to maintain its own poor; and the matter is of no ſuch conſequence in this point as ſome would make it, whether a country pariſh be rich or poor. In the remoter and poorer pariſhes of the kingdom, all neceſſaries for life, proper for poor people, are comparatively cheaper; I mean butter-milk, oatmeal, potatoes, and other vegetables; and every farmer or cottager, who is not himſelf a beggar, can ſometimes ſpare a ſup or a morſel, not worth

the fourth part of a farthing, to an indigent neighbour of his own parish, who is disabled from work. A beggar native of the parish is known to the squire, to the church-minister, to the popish priest or the conventicle-teacher, as well as to every farmer: he hath generally some relations able to live and contribute something to his maintenance. None of which advantages can be reasonably expected on a removal to places where he is altogether unknown. If he be not quite maimed, he and his trull, and litter of brats (if he has any), may get half their support by doing some kind of work in their power, and thereby be less burdensome to the people. In short, all necessaries of life grow in the country, and not in cities, and are cheaper where they grow; nor is it equitable that beggars should put us to the charge of giving them victuals and the carriage too.

But when the spirit of wandering takes him, attended by his females and their equipage of children, he becomes a nuisance to the whole country he and his female are thieves, and teach the trade of stealing to their brood at four years old; and his infirmities be counterfeit, it is dangerous for a single person unarmed to meet him on the road. He wanders from one country to another, but still with a view to this town, whither he arrives at last and enjoys all the privileges of a Dublin beggar.

I do not wonder that the country-squires should be very willing to send up their colonies; but why the city should be content to receive them, is beyond my imagination.

If the city were obliged by their charter to maintain a thousand beggars, they could do it cheaper by eighty *per cent.* a hundred miles off than in the town, or in any of its suburbs.

There is no village in Connaught, that in proportion shares so deeply in the daily increasing miseries of Ireland, as its capital city; to which misery

ſeries there hardly remained any addition, except the perpetual ſwarms of foreign beggars, who might be baniſhed in a month without expenſe, and with very little trouble.

As I am perſonally acquainted with a great number of ſtreet-beggars, I find ſome weak attempts have been made in one or two pariſhes to promote the wearing of badges; and my firſt queſtion to thoſe who aſk an alms is, "Where is your badge?" I have, in ſeveral years, met with about a dozen who were ready to produce them, ſome out of their pockets, others from under their coat, and two or three on their ſhoulders, only covered with a ſort of capes which they could lift up or let down upon occaſion. They are too lazy to work; they are not afraid to ſteal, nor aſhamed to beg, and yet are too proud to be ſeen with a badge, as many of them have confeſſed to me, and not a few in very injurious terms, particularly the females. They all look upon ſuch an obligation as a high indignity done to their office. I appeal to all indifferent people, whether ſuch wretches deſerve to be relieved. As to myſelf, I muſt confeſs, this abſurd inſolence hath ſo affected me, that for ſeveral years paſt, I have not diſpoſed of one ſingle farthing to a ſtreet-beggar, nor intend to do ſo until I ſee a better regulation; and I have endeavoured to perſuade all my brother-walkers to follow my example, which moſt of them aſſure me they do. For, if beggary be not able to beat out pride, it cannot deſerve charity. However, as to perſons in coaches and chairs, they bear but little of the perſecution we ſuffer, and are willing to leave it entirely upon us.

To ſay the truth, there is not a more undeſerving vitious race of humankind, than the bulk of thoſe who are reduced to beggary, even in this beggarly country. For, as a great part of our public miſeries is originally owing to our own faults,

(but what thoſe faults are, I am grown by experience too wary to mention), ſo I am confident, that among the meaner people nineteen in twenty of thoſe who are reduced to a ſtarving condition, did not become ſo by what the lawyers call the work of God either upon their bodies or goods; but merely from their own idleneſs, attended with all manner of vices, particularly drunkenneſs, thievery, and cheating.

Whoever inquires, as I have frequently done, from thoſe who have aſked me an alms, what was their former courſe of life, will find them to have been ſervants in good families, broken tradeſmen, labourers, cottagers, and what they call decayed houſekeepers; but (to uſe their own cant) reduced by loſſes and croſſes, by which nothing can be underſtood but idleneſs and vice.

As this is the only Chriſtian country where people, contrary to the old maxim, are the poverty and not the riches of the nation; ſo the bleſſing of increaſe and multiply, is by us converted into a curſe; and as marriage hath been ever countenanced in all free countries, ſo we ſhould be leſs miſerable if it were diſcouraged in ours, as far as can be conſiſtant with Chriſtianity. It is ſeldom known in England, that the labourer, the lower mechanic, the ſervant, or the cottager, thinks of marrying, until he hath ſaved up a ſtock of money ſufficient to carry on his buſineſs; nor takes a wife without a ſuitable portion; and as ſeldom fails of making a yearly addition to that ſtock, with a view of providing for his children. But in this kingdom the caſe is directly contrary, where many thouſand couples are yearly married, whoſe whole united fortunes, bating the rags on their backs, would not be ſufficient to purchaſe a pint of butter-milk for their wedding-ſupper, nor have any proſpect of ſupporting their honourable ſtate but by ſervice, or labour, or thievery. Nay, their happineſs is often deferred

red until they find credit to borrow, or cunning to ſteal a ſhilling to pay their Popiſh prieſt, or infamous couple-beggar. Surely no miraculous portion of wiſdom would be required, to find ſome kind of remedy againſt this deſtructive evil, or, at leaſt, not to draw the conſequences of it upon our decaying city, the greateſt part whereof muſt of courſe, in a few years, become deſolate, or in ruins.

In all other nations, that are not abſolutely barbarous, parents think themſelves bound by the law of nature and reaſon, to make ſome proviſion for their children; but the reaſon offered by the inhabitants of Ireland for marrying is, that they may have children to maintain them when they grow old, and unable to work.

I am informed, that we have been for ſome time paſt extremely obliged to England for one very beneficial branch of commerce; for, it ſeems, they are grown ſo gracious as to tranſmit us continually colonies of beggars, in return for a million of money they receive yearly from hence. That I may give no offence, I profeſs to mean real Engliſh beggars, in the literal meaning of the word, as it is uſually underſtood by Proteſtants. It ſeems the juſtices of the peace and pariſh-officers in the weſtern coaſts of England have a good while followed the trade of exporting hither their ſupernumerary beggars, in order to advance the Engliſh Proteſtant intereſt among us; and theſe they are ſo kind to ſend over *gratis* and duty-free. I have had the honour more than once to attend large cargos of them from Cheſter to Dublin: and I was then ſo ignorant as to give my opinion, that our city ſhould receive them into Bridewell, and, after a month's reſidence, having been well whipped twice a-day, fed with bran and water, and put to hard labour, they ſhould be returned honeſtly back with thanks as cheap as they came: or, if that were not approv-

ed of, I propoſed, that whereas one Engliſhman i allowed to be of equal intrinſic value with twelv born in Ireland, we ſhould in juſtice return then a dozen for one to diſpoſe of as they pleaſed.

As to the native poor of this city, there woul be little or no damage in confining them to thei ſeveral pariſhes. For inſtance: a beggar of th pariſh of St. Warborough's, or any other pariſ here, if he be an object of compaſſion, hath a equal chance to receive his proportion of alms fro every charitable hand: becauſe the inhabitants, on or other walk through every ſtreet in town, an give their alms, without conſidering the plac wherever they think it may be well diſpoſed of and theſe helps, added to what they get in eatabl by going from houſe to houſe among the gentry an citizens, will, without being very burthenſome, b ſufficient to keep them alive.

It is true, the poor of the ſuburb-pariſhes wi not have altogether the ſame advantage, becauſe the are not equally in the road of buſineſs and paſſe gers: but here it is to be conſidered, that the be gars there have not ſo good a title to public char ty, becauſe moſt of them are ſtrollers from th country, and compoſe a principal part of that gre nuiſance which we ought to remove.

I ſhould be apt to think, that few things can b more irkſome to a city miniſter, than a number beggars which do not belong to his diſtrict, who he hath no obligation to take care of, who are n part of his flock, and who take the bread out the mouths of thoſe to whom it properly belong When I mention this abuſe to any miniſter of city-pariſh, he uſually lays the fault upon the be dles, who, he ſays, are bribed by the foreign be gars; and, as thoſe beadles often keep alehouſe they find their account in ſuch cuſtomers. Th evil might eaſily be remedied, if the pariſhes woul make ſome ſmall addition to the ſalaries of a be

dl

dle, and be more careful in the choice of thoſe officers. But, I conceive, there is one effectual method in the power of every miniſter to put in practice; I mean, by making it the intereſt of all his own original poor to drive out intruders: for if the pariſh beggars were abſolutely forbidden by the miniſter and church-officers to ſuffer ſtrollers to come into the pariſh, upon pain of themſelves not being permitted to beg alms at the church-doors, or at the houſes and ſhops of the inhabitants, they would prevent interlopers more effectually than twenty beadles.

And here I cannot but take notice of the great indiſcretion of our city-ſhopkeepers, who ſuffer their doors to be daily beſieged by crouds of beggars (as the gates of a lord are by duns), to the great diſguſt and vexation of many cuſtomers, whom I have frequently obſerved to go to other ſhops, rather than ſuffer ſuch a perſecution; which might eaſily be avoided, if no foreign beggars were allowed to infeſt them.

Wherefore I do aſſert, that the ſhopkeepers, who are the greateſt complainers of this grievance, lamenting that for every cuſtomer they are worried by fifty beggars, do very well deſerve what they ſuffer, when a 'prentice with a horſe-whip is able to laſh every beggar from the ſhop who is not of the pariſh, and doth not wear the badge of that pariſh on his ſhoulder, well faſtened, and fairly viſible; and if this practice were univerſal in every houſe to all the ſturdy vagrants, we ſhould in a few weeks clear the town of all mendicants, except thoſe who have a proper title to our charity: as for the aged and infirm, it would be ſufficient to give them nothing, and then they muſt ſtarve, or follow their brethren.

It was the city that firſt endowed this hoſpital, and thoſe who afterwards contributed, as they were

ſuch

ſuch who generally inhabited here, ſo they intended what they gave to be for the uſe of the city's poor. The revenues, which have ſince been raiſed by parliament, are wholly paid by the city, without the leaſt charge upon any other part of the kingdom; and therefore nothing could more defeat the original deſign, than to miſapply thoſe revenues on ſtrolling beggars or baſtards from the country, which bears no ſhare in the charges we are at.

If ſome of the out-pariſhes be overburthened with poor, the reaſon muſt be, that the greateſt part of thoſe poor are ſtrollers from the country, who neſtle themſelves where they can find the cheapeſt lodgings, and from thence infeſt every part of the town, out of which they ought to be whipped as a moſt inſufferable nuiſance, being nothing elſe but a profligate clan of thieves, drunkards, heathens, and whoremongers, fitter to be rooted out of the face of the earth, than ſuffered to levy a vaſt annual tax upon the city, which ſhares too deep in the public miſeries brought on us by the oppreſſions we lie under from our neighbours, our brethren, our countrymen, our Fellow-Proteſtants, and fellow-ſubjects.

Some time ago I was appointed one of a committee to inquire into the ſtate of the workhouſe; where we found that a charity was beſtowed by a great perſon for a certain time, which in its conſequences operated very much to the detriment of the houſe; for, when the time was elapſed, all thoſe who were ſupported by that charity continued on the ſame foot with the reſt on the foundation; and, being generally a pack of profligate, vagabond wretches, from ſeveral parts of the kingdom, corrupted all the reſt; ſo partial, or treacherous, or intereſted, or ignorant, or miſtaken, are generally all recommenders, not only to employments, but even to charity itſelf.

I know

I know it is complained, that the difficulty of driving foreign beggars out of the city is charged upon the bellowers, (as they are called), who find their accounts beſt in ſuffering thoſe vagrants to follow their trade through every part of the town. But this abuſe might eaſily be remedied, and very much to the advantage of the whole city, if better ſalaries were given to thoſe who excute that office in the ſeveral pariſhes, and would make it their intereſt to clear the town of thoſe caterpillars, rather than hazard the loſs of an employment that would give them an honeſt livelihood. But, if that ſhould fail, yet a general reſolution of never giving charity to a ſtreet-beggar out of his own pariſh, or without a viſible badge, would infallibly force all vagrants to depart.

There is generally a vagabond ſpirit in beggars, which ought to be diſcouraged, and ſeverely puniſhed It is owing to the ſame cauſes that drove them into poverty; I mean, idleneſs, drunkenneſs, and raſh marriages without the leaſt proſpect of ſupporting a family by honeſt endeavours, which never came into their thoughts. It is obſerved, that hardly one beggar in twenty looks upon himſelf to be relieved by receiving bread, or other food; and they have in this town been frequently ſeen to pour out of their pitchers good broth, that hath been given them, into the kennel; neither do they much regard cloaths, unleſs to ſell them; for their rags are part of their tools with which they work: they want only ale, brandy, and other ſtrong liquors, which cannot be had without money: and money, as they conceive, always abounds in the metropolis.

I had ſome other thoughts to offer upon this ſubject. But as I am a deſponder in my nature, and have tolerably well diſcovered the diſpoſition of our people, who never will move a ſtep towards eaſing

easing themselves from any one single grievance; i will be thought, that I have already said too much and to little or no purpose, which hath often bee the fate or fortune of the writer.

April 22.
1737.

J. SWIFT.

ADVICE

ADVICE to the freemen of the city of Dublin, in the choice of a MEMBER to repreſent them in parliament *.

THOSE few writers, who, ſince the death of Alderman Burton, have employed their pens in giving advice to our citizens, how they ſhould proceed in electing a new repreſentative for the next ſeſſions, having laid aſide their pens; I have reaſon to hope, that all true lovers of their country in general, and particularly thoſe who have any regard for the privileges and liberties of this great and ancient city, will think a ſecond, and a third time, before they come to a final determination upon what perſon they reſolve to fix their choice.

I am told, there are only two perſons who ſet up for candidates: one is the preſent Lord Mayor †, and the other ‡, a gentleman of good eſteem, and alderman of the city, a merchant of reputation, and poſſeſſed of a conſiderable office ‖ under the crown. The queſtion is, Which of theſe two perſons it will be moſt for the advantage of the city to elect? I have but little acquaintance with either, ſo that my inquiries will be very impartial, and drawn only from the general character and ſituation of both.

* This piece was publiſhed in the year 1733; and as it may be uſeful upon a like occaſion, we have here given it a place.

† Humphry French.

‡ John Macaral.

‖ Regiſter to the barracks.

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In order to this, I muſt offer my countryme and fellow-citizens ſome reaſons why I think the ought to be more than ordinarily careful at th juncture, upon whom they beſtow their votes.

To perform this with more clearneſs, it may b proper to give you a ſhort ſtate of our unfortunat country.

We conſiſt of two parties, I do not mean Popiſ and Proteſtant, high and low church, Epiſcopal an Sectarians, Whig and Tory; but of thoſe of En liſh who happen to be born in this kingdom, (who anceſtors reduced the whole nation under the ob dience of the Engliſh crown), and the gentleme ſent from t'other ſide to poſſeſs moſt of the chi employments here. This latter party is very muc enlarged and ſtrengthened by the whole power i the church, the law, the army, the revenue, an the civil adminiſtration depoſited in their hands although for polical ends, and to ſave appearance ſome employments are ſtill depoſited (yet graduall in a ſmaller number) to perſons born here. Th proceeding, fortified with good words and man promiſes, is ſufficient to flatter and feed the hop of hundreds, who will never be one farthing th better, as they might eaſily be convinced, if the were qualified to think at all.

Civil employments of all kinds have been for ſe veral years paſt with great prudence made preca rious, and during pleaſure; by which means th poſſeſſors are, and muſt inevitably be, for ever de pendent; yet thoſe very few of any conſequence which being dealt with ſo ſparing a hand to perſon born among us, are enough to keep hope alive i great numbers, who deſire to mend their conditio by the favour of thoſe in power.

Now, my dear fellow-citizens, how is it poſſibl you can conceive that any perſon who holds an of fice of ſome hundred pounds a-year, which may b taken from him whenever power ſhall think fit will

will, if he ſhould be choſen a member for any city, do the leaſt thing, when he ſits in the houſe, that he knows or fears may be diſpleaſing to thoſe who gave him, or continue him in that office? Believe me, theſe are no times to expect ſuch an exalted degree of virtue from mortal men. Blazing ſtars are much more frequently ſeen than ſuch heroical worthies. And I could ſooner hope to find ten thouſand pounds by digging in my garden, than ſuch a phœnix by ſearching among the preſent race of mankind.

I cannot forbear thinking it a very erroneous as well as modern maxim of politics in the Engliſh nation, to take every opportunity of depreſſing Ireland, whereof an hundred inſtances may be produced in points of the higheſt importance, had within the memory of every middle-aged man: although many of the greateſt perſons among that party which now prevails, have formerly, upon that article, much differed in their opinion from their preſent ſucceſſors.

But ſo the fact ſtands at preſent. It is plain, that the court and country party here (I mean in the houſe of Commons) very ſeldom agree in any thing but their loyalty to his preſent Majeſty, their reſolutions to make him and his viceroy eaſy in the government, to the utmoſt of their power, under the preſent condition of the kingdom. But the perſons ſent from England, who (to a trifle) are poſſeſſed of the ſole executive power in all its branches, with their few adherents in poſſeſſion who were born here, and hundreds of expectants, popers, and promiſees, put on quite contrary notions with regard to Ireland. They count upon a univerſal ſubmiſſion to whatever ſhall be demanded; wherein they act ſafely, becauſe none of themſelves, except the candidates, feel the leaſt of our preſſures.

I remember a perſon of diſtinction ſome days ag affirmed in a good deal of mixed company, and o both parties, that the gentry from England, wh now enjoy our higheſt employments of all kinds can never be poſſibly loſers of one farthing by th greateſt calamities that can befal this kingdom, ex cept a plague that would ſweep away a million c our *hewers of wood, and drawers of water*; or a invaſion that would fright our grandees out of th kingdom. For this perſon argued, that while ther was a penny left in the treaſury, the civil and mil tary liſt muſt be paid; and that the Epiſcopal rev nues, which are uſually farmed out at ſix times b low the real value, could hardly fail. He inſiſte farther, that, as money diminiſhed, the prices a all neceſſaries for life muſt of conſequence do too, which would be for the advantage of all pe ſons in employment, as well as of my Lords tl Biſhops, and to the ruin of every body elſe. Amor the company there wanted not men in office, beſid one or two expectants: yet I did not obſerve any them diſpoſed to return an anſwer: but the conſ quences drawn were theſe: That the great men power ſent hither from the other ſide were by n means upon the ſame foot with his Majeſty's oth ſubjects of Ireland. They had no common lig ment to bind them with us; they ſuffered not wi our ſufferings, and if it were poſſible for us to ha any cauſe of rejoicing, they could not rejoice wi us.

Suppoſe a perſon, born in this kingdom, ſha happen by his ſervices for the Engliſh intereſt have an employment conferred on him worth fo hundred pounds a-year; and that he hath likewi an eſtate in land worth four hundred pounds a-ye more: ſuppoſe him to ſit in parliament: the ſuppoſe a land-tax to be brought in of five ſhillin a-pound for ten years: I tell you how this gentl man will compute. He hath four hundred poun

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a-year in land: the tax he must pay yearly is one hundred pounds; by which, in ten years, he will pay only a thousand pounds. But if he gives his vote against this tax, he will lose four thousand pounds by being turned out of his employment, together with the power and influence he hath, by virtue or colour of his employment; and thus the balance will be against him three thousand pounds.

I desire, my fellow-citizens, you will please to call to mind how many persons you can vouch for among your acquaintance, who have so much virtue and self-denial, as to lose four hundred pounds a-year for life, together with the smiles and favour of power, and the hopes of higher advancement, merely out of a generous love of his country.

The contentions of parties in England are very different from those among us. The battle there is fought for power and riches; and so it is indeed among us: but whether a great employment be given to Tom or to Peter, they were both born in England, the profits are to be spent there. All employments (except a very few) are bestowed on the natives: they do not send to Germany, Holland, Sweden, or Denmark, much less to Ireland, for chancellors, bishops, judges, or other officers. Their salaries, whether well or ill got, are employed at home; and whatever their morals or politics be, the nation is not the poorer.

The house of Commons in England have frequently endeavoured to limit the number of members, who should be allowed to have employments under the crown. Several acts have been made to that purpose, which many wise men think are not yet effectual enough, and many of them are rendered ineffectual by leaving the power of re-election. Our house of Commons consists, I think, of about three hundred members; if one hundred of these should happen to be made up of persons already provided for, joined with expecters, compliers,

eaſy to be perſuaded, ſuch as will give a vote for
friend who is in hopes to get ſomething; if they l
merry companions, without ſuſpicion, of a natur
baſhfulneſs, not apt or able to look forwards;
good words, ſmiles, and careſſes, have any pow
over them, the larger part of a ſecond hundred ma
be very eaſily brought in at a moſt reaſonable rat

There is an Engliſhman * of no long ſtanding
mong us, but in an employment of great tru
power, and profit. This excellent perſon did lat
ly publiſh, at his own expenſe, a pamphlet, print
in England by authority, to juſtify the bill for a g
neral exciſe, or inland duty, in order to introdu
that bleſſed ſcheme among us. What a tender ca
muſt ſuch an Engliſh patriot for Ireland have of o
intereſt, if he ſhould condeſcend to ſit in our pa
liament? I will bridle my indignation. Howev
methinks I long to ſee that mortal, who would wi
pleaſure blow us up all at a blaſt; but he duly r
ceives his thouſand pounds a year; makes his pr
greſs like a king; is received in pomp at every tow
† and village where he travels, and ſhines in t
Engliſh news-papers.

I will now apply what I have ſaid to you, my br
thren and fellow-citizens. Count upon it, as a tru
next to your creed, that no one perſon in office,
which he is not maſter for life, whether born he
or in England, will ever hazard that office for t
good of this country. One of your candidates
of this kind, and I believe him to be an honeſt ge
tleman, as the word *honeſt* is generelly underſtoo
But he loves his employment better than he do
you, or his country, or all the countries upon eart
Will you contribute or give him city-ſecurity to p
him the value of his employment, if it ſhould be t

* Edward Thomſon, Eſq; member of parliament for York, a
a commiſſioner of the revenue of Ireland.

† Mr Thomſon was preſented with his freedom of ſeveral cor
rations in Ireland.

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ken from him during his life, for voting on all occaſions with the honeſt country-party in the houſe? although I much queſtion, whether he would do it even upon that condition.

Wherefore, ſince there are but two candidates, I intreat you will fix on the preſent Lord Mayor. He hath ſhewn more virtue, more activity, more ſkill, in one year's government of the city, than an hundred years can equal. He hath endeavoured with great ſucceſs to baniſh frauds, corruptions, and all other abuſes from amongſt you.

A dozen ſuch men in power would be able to reform a kingdom. He hath no employment under the crown; nor is likely to get or ſolicit for any; his education having not turned him that way. I will aſſure for no man's future conduct; but he who hath hitherto practiſed the rules of virtue with ſo much difficulty, in ſo great and ſo buſy a ſtation, deſerves your thanks, and the beſt return you can make him; and you, my brethren, have no other to give him, than that of repreſenting you in parliament. Tell me not of your engagements and promiſes to another. Your promiſes were ſins of inconſideration at beſt; and you are bound to repent and annul them. That gentleman, although with good reputation, is already engaged on the other ſide. He hath four hundred pounds a-year under the crown, which he is too wiſe to part with, by ſacrificing ſo good an eſtabliſhment to the empty names of virtue, and love of his country. I can aſſure you, the *Drapier* is in the intereſts of the preſent Lord Mayor, whatever you may be told to the contrary. I have lately heard him declare ſo in public company, and offer ſome of theſe very reaſons in defence of his opinion; although he hath a regard and eſteem for the other gentleman, but would not anſwer the good of the city and the kingdom for a compliment.

The Lord Mayor's ſeverity to ſome unfair dealers ſhould not turn the honeſt men among them againſt him. Whatever he did, was for the advantage of thoſe very traders whoſe diſhoneſt member he puniſhed. He hath hitherto been above temptation to act wrong; and therefore, as mankind goes he is the moſt likely to act right as a repreſentativ of your city, as he conſtantly did in the governm ment of it.

Some Considerations humbly offered to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the court of Aldermen and Common Council of the Hon. city of Dublin, in the choice of a Recorder *.

THE office of Recorder to this city being vacant by the death of a very worthy gentleman, it is said, that five or six persons are soliciting to succeed him in the employment. I am a stranger to all their persons, and to most of their characters; which latter, I hope, will at this time be canvassed with more decency, than it sometimes happeneth upon the like occasions. Therefore, as I am wholly impartial, I can with more freedom deliver my thoughts, how the several persons and parties concerned ought to proceed in electing a recorder for this great and ancient city.

And first, as it is a very natural, so I can by no means think it an unreasonable opinion, that the sons, or near relations of aldermen, and other deserving citizens, should be duly regarded, as proper competitors for an employment in the city's disposal: provided they be equally qualified with other candidates; and provided that such employments require no more than common abilities and common honesty. But, in the choice of a record-

* Upon the death of Mr. Stoyte, recorder of the city of Dublin, in the year 1733, several gentlemen declared themselves candidates to succeed him; upon which the Dean wrote this paper; and Eaton Stannard, Esq; (a gentleman of great worth and honour, and very knowing in his profession), was elected.

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er, the caſe is entirely different. He ought to be a perſon of good abilities in his calling; of an unſpotted character; an able practitioner; one who hath occaſionally merited of this city before: He ought to be of ſome maturity in years; a member of parliament, and likely to continue ſo; regular in his life; firm in his loyalty to the Hanover ſucceſſion; indulgent to tender conſciences; but, at the ſame time, a firm adherer to the eſtabliſhed church. If he be ſuch a one, who hath already ſat in parliament, it ought to be inquired of what weight he was there; whether he voted on all occaſions for the good of his country; and particulaaly for advancing the trade and freedom of this city: whether he be engaged in any faction, either national or religious: And laſtly, whether he be a man of courage: not to be drawn from his duty by the frowns or menaces of power, nor capable to be corrupted by allurements or bribes.—— Theſe, and many other particulars, are of infinitely more conſequence than that ſingle circumſtance of being deſcended by a direct or collateral line from any alderman, or diſtinguiſhed citizen, dead or alive.

There is not a dealer or ſhopkeeper in this city of any ſubſtance, whoſe thriving, leſs or more, may not depend upon the good or ill conduct of a recorder. He is to watch every motion in parliament, that may the leaſt affect the freedom, trade, or welfare of it.

In this approaching election, the Commons, as they are a numerous body, ſo they ſeem to be moſt concerned in point of intereſt; and their intereſt ought to be moſt regarded, becauſe it altogether dependeth upon the true intereſt of the city. They have no private views; and giving their votes, as I am informed, by balloting, they lie under no awe, or fear of diſobliging competitors. It is therefore hoped, that they will duly conſider,

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which of the candidates is moſt likely to advance the trade of themſelves and their brother-citizens; to defend their liberties, both *in* and *out* of parliament, againſt all attempts of incroachment or oppreſſion. And ſo God direct them in the choice of a recorder, who may for many years ſupply that important office with ſkill, diligence, courage, and fidelity. And let all the people ſay, *Amen*.

The

The last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston, who was executed the 2d day of May 1722 *.

Published at his desire, for the common good.

[About the time that the following speech was written, the town was much pestered with street-robber; who, in a barbarous manner, would seize on gentlemen, and take them into remote corners, and after they had robbed them, would leave them bound and gagged. It is remarkable, that this speech had so good an effect, that there have been very few robberies of that kind committed since.]

I AM now going to suffer the just punishment for my crimes, prescribed by the law of God and my country. I know it is the constant custom, that those who come to this place should have speeches made for them, and cried about in their own hearing, as they are carried to execution; and truly they are such speeches, that, although our fraternity be an ignorant illiterate people, they would make a man ashamed to have such nonsense and false English charged upon him, even when he

* This piece had a most excellent effect. The thieves, vagabonds, and all the lower class of people, thought it the real work of Ebenezer Elliston, who had received the grounds of a good education; and the style of this paper is so natural for a person in such circumstances, that it would almost deceive the nicest judgment. *Orrery.*

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is going to the gallows. They contain a pretended account of our birth and family, of the fact for which we are to die, of our sincere repentance, and a declaration of our religion. I cannot expect to avoid the same treatment with my predecessors. However, having had an education one or two degrees better than those of my rank and profession, I have been considering, ever since my commitment, what it might be proper for me to deliver upon this occasion.

And first, I cannot say from the bottom of my heart, that I am truly sorry for the offence I have given to God, and the world; but I am very much so, for the bad success of my villanies in bringing me to this untimely end. For it is plainly evident, that, after having some time ago obtained a pardon from the crown, I again took up my old trade: my evil habits were so rooted in me, and I was grown so unfit for any other kind of employment. And therefore, although, in compliance with my friends, I resolve to go to the gallows after the usual manner, kneeling, with a book in my hand, and my eyes lift up; yet I shall feel no more devotion in my heart than I have observed in my comrades, who have been drunk among common whores the very night before their execution. I can say farther from my own knowledge, that two of my fraternity after they had been hanged, and wonderfully came to life, and made their escapes, as it sometimes happens, proved afterwards the wickedest rogues I ever knew, and so continued until they were hanged again for good and all; and yet they had the impudence at both times they went to the gallows to smite their breasts, and lift up their eyes to heaven all the way.

Secondly, From the knowledge I have of my own wicked dispositions, and that of my comrades, I give it as my opinion, that nothing can be more unfortunate to the public, than the mercy of the government

government in ever pardoning or tranſporting us; unleſs when we betray one another, as we never fail to do, if we are ſure to be well paid, and then a pardon may do good; by the ſame rule, *That it is better to have but one fox in a farm than three or four.* But we generally make a ſhift to return after being tranſported, and are ten times greater rogues than before, and much more cunning. Beſides, I know it by experience, that ſome hope we have of finding mercy, when we are tried, or after we are condemned, is always a great encouragement to us.

Thirdly, Nothing is more dangerous to idle young fellows than the company of thoſe odious common whores we frequent, and of which this town is full: theſe wretches put us upon all miſchief to feed their luſts and extravgancies: they are ten times more bloody and cruel than men: their advice is always not to ſpare if we are purſued; they get drunk with us, and are common to us all; and yet, if they can get any thing by it are ſure to be our betrayers.

Now, as I am a dying man, ſomething I have done which may be of good uſe to the public. I have left with an honeſt man, (and indeed the only honeſt man I was ever acquainted with), the names of all my wicked brethren, the preſent places of their abode, with a ſhort account of the chief crimes they have committed, in many of which I have been their accomplice, and heard the reſt from their own mouths; I have likewiſe ſet down the names of thoſe we call our ſetters, of the wicked houſes we frequent, and of thoſe who receive and buy our ſtolen goods. I have ſolemnly charged this honeſt man, and have received his promiſe upon oath, that whenever he hears of any rogue to be tried for robbing, or houſebreaking, he will look into his liſt, and if he finds the name there of the thief concerned, to ſend the whole paper to th-

the government. Of this I here give my companions fair and public warning, and hope they will take it

In the paper above mentioned, which I left with my friend, I have alſo ſet down the names of ſeveral gentlemen who have been robbed in Dublin ſtreets for three years paſt: I have told the circumſtances of thoſe robberies; and ſhewn plainly that nothing but the want of common courage was the cauſe of their misfortune. I have therefore deſired my friend, that whenever any gentleman happens to be robbed in the ſtreets, he will get that relation printed and publiſhed with the firſt letters of thoſe gentlemens names, who by their own want of bravery are likely to be the cauſe of all the miſchief of that kind which may happen for the future.

I cannot leave the world without a ſhort deſcription of that kind of life, which I have led for ſome years paſt; and is exactly the ſame with the reſt of our wicked brethren.

Although we are generally ſo corrupted from our childhood, as to have no ſenſe of goodneſs; yet ſomething heavy always hangs about us, I know not what it is, that we are never eaſy till we are half-drunk among our whores and companions; nor ſleep ſound unleſs we drink longer than we can ſtand. If we go abroad in the day, a wiſe man would eaſily find us to be rogues by our faces, we have ſuch a ſuſpicious, fearful, and conſtrained countenance; often turning back, and ſlinking through narrow lanes and alleys. I have never failed of knowing a brother-thief by his looks, though I never ſaw him before. Every man among us keeps his particular whore, who is however common to us all, when we have a mind to change. When we have got a booty, if it be in money, we divide it equally among our companions, and ſoon ſquander it away on our vices, in thoſe houſes that

receive us; for the maſter and miſtreſs, and the very tapſter, go ſnacks; and beſides make us pay triple reckonings. If our plunder be plate, watches, rings, ſnuff-boxes, and the like, we have cuſtomers in all quarters of the town to take them off. I have ſeen a tankard worth fifteen pounds ſold to a fellow in —— ſtreet for twenty ſhillings; and a gold watch for thirty. I have ſet down his name, and that of ſeveral others, in the paper already mentioned. We have ſetters watching in corners, and by dead walls, to give us notice when a gentleman goes by; eſpecially if he be any thing in drink. I believe in my conſcience, that if an account were made of a thouſand pounds in ſtolen goods, conſidering the low rates we ſell them at, the bribes we muſt give for concealment, the extortions of alehouſe-reckonings, and other neceſſary charges, there would not remain fifty pounds clear to be divided among the robbers. And out of this we muſt find cloaths for our whores, beſides treating them from morning to night; who in requital reward us with nothing but treachery and the pox. For when our money is gone, they are every moment threatening to inform againſt us, if we will not go out and look for more. If any thing in this world be like hell, as I have heard it deſcribed by our clergy, the trueſt picture of it muſt be in the backroom of one of our alehouſes at midnight; where a crew of robbers and their whores are met together after a booty, and are beginning to grow drunk; from which time, until they are paſt their ſenſes, is ſuch a continued horrible noiſe of curſing, blaſphemy, lewdneſs, ſcurrility, and brutiſh behaviour, ſuch roaring and confuſion, ſuch a clutter of mugs and pots at each other's heads; that bedlam, in compariſon, is a ſober and orderly place. At laſt, they all tumble from their ſtools and benches, and ſleep away the reſt of the night; and generally the landlord or his wife, or

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ſome other whore who has a ſtronger head than the reſt, picks their pockets before they wake. The misfortune is, that we can never be eaſy till we are drunk; and our drunkenneſs conſtantly expoſes us to be more eaſily betrayed and taken.

This is a ſhort picture of the life I have led; which is more miſerable than that of the pooreſt labourer, who works for fourpence a-day; and yet cuſtom is ſo ſtrong, that I am confident, if I could make my eſcape at the foot of the gallows, I ſhould be following the ſame courſe this very evening. So that, upon the whole, we ought to be looked upon as the common enemies of mankind; whoſe intereſt it is to root us out like wolves and other miſchievous vermin, againſt which no fair play is required.

If I have done ſervice to men in what I have ſaid, I ſhall hope I have done ſervice to God; and that will be better than a ſilly ſpeech made for me, full of whining and canting, which I utterly deſpiſe, and have never been uſed to; yet ſuch a one I expect to have my ears tormented with, as I am paſſing along the ſtreets.

Good people, fare ye well; bad as I am, I leave many worſe behind me. I hope you ſhall ſee me die like a man the death of a dog.

E. E.

The INTELLIGENCER*.

NUMBER I.

IT may be said, without offence to other cities of much greater consequence to the world, that our town of Dublin doth not want its due proportion of folly and vice, both negative and imported; and

* The *Intelligencer* was a weekly paper undertaken by the Dean and Dr. Sheridan in 1728, of which no more than twenty numbers were ever published. The 1st, 3d, 5th, 7th, 9th, some verses in the 8th, and at the end of the 10th, the 15th, and the 19th, were written by the Dean. The 5th and 7th are put together and printed as they were published by Mr Pope in the 4th volume of their miscellanies, under the title of *An Essay on the fates of clergymen*, vol. 8. p. 189. The poetry in the 8th, is the dialogue between *mad Mullinix and Timothy*, which is printed, as it was also classed by Mr Pope, in vol. 7. p. 193. The 9th he intitled *An essay on modern education*, and by that name it will be found in vol. 7. p. 197. The verses at the end of the 10th, called *Tim and the Fables*, are printed in vol. 8. p. 66. The 15th is a pamphlet which Dr. Sheridan, having written a short introduction, to, took into the *Intelligencer*, merely to save the labour of writing a paper. It is printed in volume 4. and intitled, *A short view of the state of Ireland*. No 19. is also a tract which has been before published by itself: and was taken into the *Intelligencer* for the same reason as the former. The Dean and the Doctor soon became weary of a periodical work, in which they were disappointed of assistance; the price was but one halfpenny; and so few were sold, that the printer could not afford to engage a young man of proper qualifications to work up such hints as should be sent him; of which there were enough, and which the undertakers hoped thus to communicate, with less labour to the public. The *Intelligencers* were collected into a volume, and reprinted in England in 1730. See letter 62.

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as to thoſe imported, we have the advantage to receive them laſt, and conſequently, after our happy manner, to improve and refine upon them.

But, becauſe there are many effects of folly and vice among us, whereof ſome are general, and others confined to ſmaller numbers, and others again perhaps to a few individuals; there is a ſociety lately eſtabliſhed, who at great expenſe have erected an office of intelligence, from which they are to receive weekly information of all important events and ſingularities, which this famous metropolis can furniſh. Strict injunctions are given to have the trueſt information; in order to which, certain qualified perſons are employed to attend upon duty in their ſeveral poſts; ſome at the play-houſe, others in churches, ſome at balls, aſſemblies, coffeehouſes, and meetings for quadrille; ſome at the ſeveral courts of juſtice, both ſpiritual and temporal; ſome at the college, ſome upon my Lord Mayor and aldermen in their public affairs; laſtly, ſome to converſe with favourite chamber-maids, and to frequent thoſe alehouſes and brandy-ſhops where the footmen of great families meet in the morning; only the * barracks and parliament-houſe are excepted; becauſe we have yet found no *enfans perdus* † bold enough to venture their perſons at either. Out of theſe and ſome other ſtore-houſes, we hope to gather materials enough to inform, or divert, or correct, or vex the town.

But as facts, paſſages, and adventures of all kinds are like to have the greateſt ſhare in our paper, whereof we cannot always anſwer for the truth; due care ſhall be taken to have them applied to feigned names, whereby all juſt offence will be removed; for if none be guilty, none will have

* Barracks, buildings for the lodgement of ſoldiers.

† *Enfans perdus*, forlorn hope. See Preface to the Biſhop of Sarum's introduction.

cauſe to bluſh or be angry; if otherwiſe, then the guilty perſon is ſafe for the future upon his preſent amendment, and ſafe for the preſent from all but his own conſcience.

There is another reſolution taken among us, which I fear will give a greater and more general diſcontent, and is of ſo ſingular a nature, that I have hardly confidence enough to mention it, although it be abſolutely neceſſary by way of apology for ſo bold and unpopular an attempt. But ſo it is, that we have taken a deſperate counſel to produce into the world every diſtinguiſhed action, either of juſtice, prudence, generoſity, charity, friendſhip, or public ſpirit, which comes well atteſted to us. And although we ſhall neither here be ſo daring as to aſſign names, yet we ſhall hardly forbear to give ſome hints, that, perhaps, to the great diſpleaſure of ſuch deſerving perſons, may endanger a diſcovery. For we think, that even virtue itſelf ſhould ſubmit to ſuch a mortification, as by its viſibility and example will render it more uſeful to the world. But however, the readers of theſe papers need not be in pain of being overcharged with ſo dull and ungrateful a ſubject. And yet who knows but ſuch an occaſion may be offered to us once in a year or two, after we have ſettled a correſpondence round the kingdom.

But after all our boaſts of materials ſent us by our ſeveral emiſſaries, we may probably ſoon fall ſhort, if the town will not be pleaſed to lend us further aſſiſtance towards entertaining itſelf. The world beſt knows its own faults and virtues, and whatever is ſent ſhall be faithfully returned back only a little embelliſhed, according to the cuſtom of AUTHORS. We do therefore demand and expect continual advertiſements in great numbers, to be ſent to the PRINTER of this paper, who hath employed a judicious ſecretary to collect ſuch as may be moſt uſeful for the public.

And

And although we do not intend to expose our own persons by mentioning names, yet we are so far from requiring the same caution in our correspondents, that, on the contrary, we expressly charge and command them, in all the facts they send us, to set down the names, titles, and places of abode at length; together with a very particular description of the "persons, dresses, dispositions of the sever-"al lords, ladies, 'squires, madams, lawyers, game-"sters, toupees, sots, wits, rakes, and informers," whom they shall have occasion to mention; otherwise it will not be possible for us to adjust our style to the different qualities and capacities of the person concerned, and treat them with the respect or familiarity, that may be due to their stations and characters, which we are determined to observe with the utmost strictness, that none may have cause to complain.

NUMBER III.

Ipse per omnes
Ibit personas, et turbam reddet in unam.

THE players having now almost done with the comedy called the Beggar's Opera for the season; it may be no unpleasent speculation, to reflect a little upon this dramatic piece, so singular in the subject and manner, so much an original, and which hath frequently given so very agreeable an entertainment *.

Athough an evil taste be very apt to prevail, both here and in London; yet there is a point, which whoever can rightly touch will never fail of pleasing a very great majority; so great, that the

* See Letters to and from Dr. Swift.

dislikers,

diſlikers, out of dulneſs or affectation, will be ſilent, and forced to fall in with the herd: the point I mean is, what we call humour; which, in its perfection, is allowed to be much preferable to wit; if it be not rather the moſt uſeful and agreeable ſpecies of it.

I agree with Sir William Temple, that the word is peculiar to our Engliſh tongue; but I differ from him in the opinion, that the thing itſelf is peculiar to the Engliſh nation; becauſe the contrary may be found in many Spaniſh, Italian, and French productions: and particularly, whoever hath a taſte for true humour, will find an hundred inſtances of it in theſe volumes printed in France under the name of *Le Theatre Italien*; to ſay nothing of Rabelais, Cervantes, and many others.

Now, I take the comedy, or farce, (or whatever name the critics will allow it), called the Beggar's Opera to excel in this article of humour; and, upon that merit, to have met with ſuch prodigious ſucceſs, both here and in England.

As to poetry, eloquence, and muſic, which are ſaid to have moſt power over the minds of men; it is certain, that very few have a taſte or judgment of the excellencies of the two former; and if a man ſucceed in either, it is upon the authority of thoſe few judges, that lend their taſte to the bulk of readers, who have none of their own. I am told there are as few good judges in muſic; and that among thoſe who croud the operas, nine in ten go thither merely out of curioſity, faſhion, or affectation.

But a taſte for humour is in ſome manner fixed to the very nature of man, and generally obvious to the vulgar, except upon ſubjects too refined, and ſuperior to their underſtanding.

And as this taſte of humour is purely natural, ſo is humour itſelf; neither is it a talent confined to men of wit or learning; for we obſerve it ſometimes

imes among common ſervants, and the meaneſt of he people, while the very owners are often igno· ant of the gift they poſſeſs.

I know very well, that this happy talent is con· emptibly treated by critics, under the name of low umour, or low comedy; but I know likewiſe that he Spaniards and Italians, who are allowed to have he moſt wit of any nations in Europe, do moſt xcel in it, and do moſt eſteem it.

By what diſpoſition of the mind, what influence f the ſtars, or what ſituation of the climate, this ndowment is beſtowed upon mankind, may be a ueſtion fit for philoſophers to diſcuſs. It is cer· ainly the beſt ingredient towards that kind of ſa· re which is moſt uſeful, and gives the leaſt of· nce; which, inſtead of laſhing, laughs men out f their follies and vices; and is the character that ives Horace the preference to Juvenal.

And although ſome things are too ſerious, ſo· mn, or ſacred, to be turned into ridicule, yet he abuſes of them are certainly not; ſince it is llowed, that corruptions in religion, politics, and w, may be proper topics for this kind of ſatire.

There are two ends that men propoſe in writing tire: one of them leſs noble than the other, as egarding nothing further than the private ſatisfac on and pleaſure of the writer; but without any ew towards perſonal malice: the other is a pub· ſpirit, prompting men of genius and virtue to end the world as far as they are able. And as oth theſe ends are innocent, ſo the latter is high· commendable. With regard to the former I emand, whether I have not as good a title to laugh men have to be ridiculous; and to expoſe vice, another hath to be vitious. If I ridicule the fol· s and corruptions of a court, a miniſtry, or a ſe· ate, are they not amply paid by penſions, titles, d power, while I expect and deſire no other re· ard, than that of laughing with a few friends in

a

a corner? yet if thoſe who take offence think n in the wrong, I am ready to change the ſcene wi them whenever they pleaſe.

But if my deſign be to make mankind bette then I think it is my duty; at leaſt, I am ſure it the intereſt of thoſe very courts and miniſter whoſe follies or vices I ridicule, to reward me, f my good intentions: for if it be reckoned a hig point of wiſdom to get the laughers on our ſid it is much more eaſy, as well as wiſe, to get tho on our ſide, who can make millions laugh wh they pleaſe.

My reaſon for mentioning courts and miniſter " (whom I never think on but with the moſt pr " found veneration)," is, becauſe an opinion o tains, that in the Beggar's Opera there appears be ſome reflection upon courtiers and ſtateſme whereof I am by no means a judge.

It is true, indeed, that Mr. GAY, the author this piece, hath been ſomewhat ſingular in th courſe of his fortunes; for it hath happened, th after fourteen years attending the court, with large ſtock of real merit, a modeſt and agreeab converſation, a hundred promiſes, and five hun dred friends, he hath failed of preferment; an upon a very weighty reaſon. He lay under th ſuſpicion of having written a libel or lampoon gainſt a great miniſter *. It is true, that great m niſter was demonſtratively convinced, and publicl owned his conviction, that Mr. GAY was not th author; but having lain under the ſuſpicion, ſeemed very juſt that he ſhould ſuffer the puniſh ment; becauſe, in this moſt reformed age, the vir tues of a prime miniſter are no more to be ſuſpect ed, than the chaſtity of Cæſar's wife.

It muſt be allowed, that the Beggar's Opera i not the firſt of Mr. GAY's works, wherein he hath

* Sir Robert Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford.

boen

been faulty with regard to courtiers and ſtateſmen. For to omit his other pieces; even in his fables, publiſhed within two years paſt, and dedicated to the Duke of Cumberland, for which he was promiſed a reward, he hath been thought ſomewhat too bold upon the courtiers. And although it be highly probable he meant only the courtiers of former times, yet he acted unwarily, by not conſidering, that the malignity of ſome people might miſinterpret what he ſaid to the diſadvantage of preſent perſons and affairs.

But I have now done with Mr. GAY as a politician; and ſhall conſider him henceforward only as author of the Beggar's Opera, wherein he hath, by a turn of humour, entirely new, placed vices of all kinds in the ſtrongeſt and moſt odious light; and thereby done eminent ſervice both to religion and morality. This appears from the unparalleled ſucceſs he hath met with. All ranks, parties, and denominations of men, either crouding to ſee his opera, or reading it with delight in their cloſets; even miniſters of ſtate, whom he is thought to have moſt offended, (next to thoſe whom the actors repreſent), appearing frequently at the theatre, from a conſciouſneſs of their own innocence, and to convince the world how unjuſt a parallel malice, envy, and diſaffection to the government have made.

I am aſſured, that ſeveral worthy clergymen in this city went privately to ſee the Beggar's Opera repreſented; and that the fleering coxcombs in the pit amuſed themſelves with making diſcoveries, and pointing the names of thoſe gentlemen round the audience.

I ſhall not pretend to vindicate a clergyman who would appear openly in his habit at a theatre, with ſuch a vitious crew as might probably ſtand round him, at ſuch comedies and profane tragedies as are often repreſented. Beſides, I know very well, that perſons of their function are bound to avoid the appearance

appearance of evil, or of giving cauſe of offenc
But when the Lords Chancellors, who are keepe
of the King's conſcience; when the Judges of th
land, whoſe title is reverend; when ladies, wh
are bound by the rules of their ſex to the ſtricte
decency, appear in the theatre without cenſure;
cannot underſtand, why a young clergyman, wh
comes concealed out of curioſity to ſee an innoce
and moral play, ſhould be ſo highly condemned
nor do I much approve the rigour of a great pr
late, who ſaid, "he hoped none of his clergy we
"there." I am glad to hear there are no weighi
er objections againſt that reverend body, plante
in this city, and I wiſh there never may. But
ſhould be very ſorry that any of them ſhould l
ſo weak, as to imitate a court chaplain in Englan
who preached againſt the Beggar's Opera, whic
will probably do more good, than a thouſand ſe
mons of ſo ſtupid, ſo injudicious, and ſo proſtitu
a divine *.

In this happy performance of Mr. GAY's all th
characters are juſt, and none of them carried b
yond nature, or hardly beyond practice. It diſco
vers the whole ſyſtem of that commonwealth, or th
imperium in imperio of iniquity eſtabliſhed amon
us, by which neither our lives or our properties ar
ſecure, either in the highways, or in public aſſem
blies, or even in our own houſes. It ſhews the m
ſerable lives, and the conſtant fate of thoſe aban
doned wretches: for how little they ſell their live
and ſouls; betrayed by their whores, their come
rades, and the receivers and purchaſers of thof
thefts and robberies. This comedy contains like
wiſe a ſatire, which, without inquiring whether i
affects the preſent age, may poſſibly be uſeful in

* Dr. Thomas Heron, chaplain to the ſociety at Lincoln's inn
afterwards Biſhop of Bangor, after that Archbiſhop of York, an
now Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

times

times to come. I mean, where the author takes the occaſion of comparing thoſe common robbers of the public, and their ſeveral ſtratagems of betraying, undermininig, and hanging each other, to the ſeveral arts of politicians in times of corruption.

This comedy likewiſe expoſeth, with great juſtice, that unnatural taſte for Italian muſic among us, which is wholly unſuitable to our northern climate and the genius of the people, whereby we are over-run with the Italian effeminacy, and Italian nonſenſe. An old gentleman ſaid to me, that many years ago, when the practice of an unnatural vice grew frequent in London, and many were proſecuted for it, he was ſure it would be the forerunner of Italian operas and ſingers; and then we ſhould want nothing but ſtabbing, or poiſoning, to make us perfect Italians.

Upon the whole, I deliver my judgement, that nothing but ſervile attachment to a party, affectation of ſingularity, lamentable dulneſs, miſtaken zeal, or ſtudied hypocriſy, can have the leaſt reaſonable objection againſt this excellent moral performance of the celebrated Mr. GAY.

NUMBER XV*.

LAMENTATIONS ii. 19.

Arise, cry out in the night; in the beginning of th watches pour out thine heart like water before the fac of the Lord; lift up thy hands towards him, for th life of the young children, that faint for hunger i the top of every street.

I Remember to have read an account, that an od which Pindar writ in honour of the island Delo was inscribed in the temple of Minerva at Athen in large letters of gold. A public and very laudab acknowledgement for the poet's ingenuity, and fo no more than a bare compliment! Such was the en couragement given by the great and public-spirite Athenians. Had the same poet, inspired by a nob and heroic ardour, by another ode awakened an roused their whole state against an invading enem or opened their eyes against any secret and wicke contrivers of their destruction, they would hav erected him a statue at least. But, alas! that sp rit is fled from the world, and long since neglec ed. Virtue is become her own paymaster. M countrymen, I hope, will forgive me, if I complai there has been so little notice taken of a small, bu most excellent pamphlet, written by the Drapie It is intitled, *A short view of the state of Irelan* [above, p. 53.]. There never was any treati yet published, with a zeal more generous for the u

* See above, p. 280. in the notes.

niversi

niverſal good of a nation, or a deſign more ſeaſonable, conſidering our preſent lamentable condition: yet we liſten not to the voice of the charmer. Whereas it ſhould have been inſcribed in capital letters, (as glorious as thoſe of the poet), in the moſt public part of every corporation-town through this whole kingdom, that people might behold the ſeveral unprovoked cauſes of their poverty, our offences towards heaven excepted. Nay, I will proceed further, and ſay, that every head of every family ought to inſtruct his children ſo far in this moſt incomparable pamphlet, that they ſhould not only underſtand, but be able to repeat by heart every ſingle paragraph through the whole. This was the method laid down by the wiſeſt lawgiver that ever the world produced, to gain the hearts of the people, by working upon their memories: Deut. vi. 7, 8, 9. "And thou ſhalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and ſhalt talk of them when thou ſitteſt in thine houſe, and when thou walkeſt by the way, and when thou lieſt down, and when thou riſeſt up. And thou ſhalt bind them for a ſign upon thine hand, and they ſhall be as frontlets between thine eyes. And thou ſhalt write them upon the poſts of thy houſe, and on thy gates."

And where would be the great trouble, ſince we have little elſe to do, if every man would read a lecture of the ſhort view every day in his family, after reading prayers? Nor do I think the expenſe would be extravagant, if he ſhould have every page of it reprinted, to be hung up in frames in every chamber of his houſe; that it might be as evident as the hand writing on the wall.

And ſince I have ventured thus far to praiſe and recommend this moſt inimitable piece, let me ſpeak a few words in favour of its *Author*.

I would propoſe to my countrymen before all their money goes off, (it is going as faſt as poſſible), to

convert it into a few ſtatues to the *Drapier* in thoſ memorable parts of this kingdom, where our he roes have ſhone with the greateſt luſtre in defenc of our liberty, and the *Proteſtant religion* over a Europe; at *Derry*, at *Enniſkilling*, at *Boyne*, at *Augh rim*. Nor would it be amiſs to ſet up a few mor about our metropolis, with that glorious inſcriptior *Liber tas et natale ſolum*.

If our money were metamorphoſed upon ſuch good occaſion as this, it would not be in the powe of any Cypſelus *, to get it into his own coffers and it would be the only method to prevent its bein carried off, except our viceroys ſhould act like th Roman prefects, and run away with our very ſt tues.

Courteous reader, mark well what follows.

" I am aſſured, that it hath for ſome time bee " practiſed," &c. [Here *The ſhort view of the ſta of Ireland*, was inſerted verbatim.]

NUMBER XIX.

Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis, oves.

[N. B. In the following diſcourſe the author perſonates a count gentleman in the north of Ireland. And this letter is ſuppoſed directed to the Drapier.]

HAving, on the 12th of October laſt, received letter, ſigned ANDREW DEALER, and P. TRICK PENNYLESS, I believe the following pape

* Cypſelus, a governor of Corinth, who contrived a tax whi brought all the money of that ſtate to himſelf in ten years tim *Ariſt. Polit.*

ju

juſt come to my hands, will be a ſufficient anſwer to it.

SIR,

I AM a country-gentleman, and a member of parliament, with an eſtate of about 1400 l. a-year; which, as a northern landlord, I receive from above two hundred tenants: and my lands having been let near twenty years ago, the rents, until very lately, were eſteemed to be not above half value; yet, by the intolerable ſcarcity of ſilver, I lie under the greateſt difficulties in receiving them, as well as in paying my labourers, or buying any thing neceſſary for my family from tradeſmen, who are not able to be long out of their money. But the ſufferings of me, and thoſe my rank, are trifles in compariſon of what the meaner ſort undergo; ſuch as the buyers and ſellers at fairs and markets; the ſhopkeepers in every town; the farmers in general; all thoſe who travel with fiſh, poultry, pedlary-ware, and other conveniencies to ſell: but more eſpecially handicraftſmen, who work for us by the day; and common labourers, whom I have already mentioned. Both theſe kind of people I am forced to employ until their wages amount to a double piſtole or a moidore, (for we hardly have any gold of lower value left us), to divide it among themſelves as they can: and this is generally done at an alehouſe or brandyſhop; where, beſides the coſt of getting drunk, (which is uſually the caſe), they muſt pay ten-pence or a ſhilling for changing their piece into ſilver to ſome huckſtering fellow, who follows that trade. But what is infinitely worſe, thoſe poor men, for want of due payment, are forced to take up their oatmeal and other neceſſaries of life at almoſt double value; and conſequently are not able to diſcharge half their ſcore, eſpecially under the ſcarceneſs of corn for two years paſt,

and the melancholy disappointment of the present crop.

The causes of this, and a thousand other evils, are clear and manifest to you and all thinking men, although hidden from the vulgar. These indeed complain of hard times, the dearth of corn, the want of money, the badness of seasons; that their goods bear no price, and the poor cannot find work; but their weak reasonings never carry them to the hatred and contempt borne us by our neighbours and brethren, without the least ground of provocation, who rejoice at our sufferings, altho' sometimes to their own disadvantage. They consider not the dead weight upon every beneficial branch of our trade; that half our revenues are annually sent to England; with many other grievances peculiar to this unhappy kingdom; which keeps us from enjoying the common benefits of mankind; as you and some other lovers of their country have so often observed with such good inclinations, and so little effect.

It is true indeed, that under our circumstances in general this complaint for the want of silver may appear as ridiculous, as for a man to be impatient about a cut finger, when he is struck with the plague; and yet a poor fellow going to the gallows may be allowed to feel the smart of wasps, while he is upon Tyburn road. This misfortune is so urging, and vexatious in every kind of small traffic and so hourly pressing upon all persons in the country whatsoever, that a hundred inconveniencies of perhaps greater moment in themselves have been tamely submitted to with far less disquietude and murmurs. And the case seems yet the harder if it be true, what many skilful men assert, that no thing is more easy than a remedy; and that the want of silver, in proportion to the little gold remaining among us, is altogether as unnecessary, as it is inconvenient. A person of distinction assured me

ver

very lately, that, in diſcourſing with the Lord Lieutenant * before his laſt return to England, his Excellency ſaid, " He had preſſed the matter often, in proper time and place, and to proper " perſons and could not ſee any difficulty of the " leaſt moment, that could prevent us from being made eaſy upon this article."

Whoever carries to England twenty-ſeven Engliſh ſhillings, and brings back one moidore of full weight, is a gainer of nine pence Iriſh: in a guinea, the advantage is three pence; and two pence in a piſtole. The *Bankers*, who are generally maſters of all our gold and ſilver with this advantage, have ſent over as much of the latter, as came into their hands. The value of one thouſand moidores in ſilver would thus amount in clear profit to 37 l. 10 s. The ſhopkeepers, and other traders, who go to London to buy goods, followed the ſame practice; by which we have been driven into this inſupportable diſtreſs.

To a common thinker it ſhould ſeem, that nothing would be more eaſy, than for the government to redreſs this evil, at any time they ſhall pleaſe. When the value of guineas was lowered in England from 21 s. and 6 d. to only 21 s. the conſequence to this kingdom were obvious, and manifeſt to us all: and a ſober man may be allowed at leaſt to wonder, although he dare not complain, why a new regulation of coin among us was not then made; much more, why it hath never been ſince. It would ſurely require no very profound ſkill in algebra to reduce the difference of nine pence in thirty ſhillings, or three pence in a guinea to leſs than a farthing; and ſo ſmall a fraction could be no temptation either to bankers, to hazard their ſilver at ſea, or tradeſmen to load themſelves with it in their journeys to England. In my humble opinion, it would be no unreaſonale con-

* The Lord Carteret.

deſcenſion,

deſcenſion, if the goverment would graciouſly pleaſe to ſignify to the poor loyal Proteſtant ſubjects of Ireland, either that this miſerable want of ſilver is not poſſible to be remedied in any degree by the niceſt ſkill in arithmetic; or elſe, that it doth not ſtand with the good pleaſure of England, to ſuffer any ſilver at all among us. In the former caſe, it would be madneſs to expect impoſſibilities; and in the other, we muſt ſubmit; for lives and fortunes are always at the mercy of the Conqueror.

The queſtion hath been often put in printed papers, by the Drapier and others, or perhaps, by the ſame writer under different ſtyles, why this kingdom ſhould not be permitted to have a mint of its own for the coinage of gold, ſilver, and copper; which is a power exerciſed by many biſhops, and every petty prince in Germany? But this queſtion hath never been anſwered; nor the leaſt application, that I have heard of, made to the crown from hence for the grant of a public mint; altho' it ſtands upon record that ſeveral cities and corporations here had the liberty of coining ſilver. I can ſee no reaſons why we alone of all nations, are thus reſtrained, but ſuch as I dare not mention: only thus far I may venture, that Ireland is the firſt imperial kingdom ſince Nimrod, which ever wanted power to coin their own money.

I know very well, that in England it is lawful for any ſubject to petition either the prince or the parliament, provided it be done in a dutiful and regular manner: but what is lawful for a ſubject of Ireland, I profeſs I cannot determine; nor will undertake, that the printer ſhall not be proſecuted in a court of juſtice far publiſhing my wiſhes, that a poor ſhopkeeper might be able to change a guinea or a moidore, when a cuſtomer comes for a crown's worth of goods. I have known leſs crimes puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, under the title of *diſaffection*. And I cannot but approve the wiſdom of

of the ancients, who, after Aſtrea had fled from the earth, at leaſt took care to provide *three upright judges for hell.* Mens ears among us are indeed grown ſo nice, that whoever happens to think out of faſhion, in what relates to the welfare of this kingdom, dare not ſo much as complain of the toothach, leſt our weak and buſy dabblers in politics ſhould be ready to ſwear againſt him for diſaffection.

There was a method practiſed by Sir Ambroſe Crawley, the great dealer in iron-works, which I wonder the gentlemen of our country under this great exigence have not thought fit to imitate. In the ſeveral towns and villages where he dealt, and many miles round, he gave notes inſtead of money from two pence), which paſſed current in all ſhops and markets, as well as in houſes, where meat and drink was ſold. I ſee no reaſon why the like practice may not be introduced among us with ſome degree of ſucceſs: or at leaſt may not ſerve as a poor expedient in this our *bleſſed age of paper*; which, as it diſchargeth all our greateſt payments, may be equally uſeful in the ſmaller, and may juſt keep us alive until an Engliſh act of parliament ſhall forbid it.

I have been told, that among ſome of our pooreſt American colonies upon the continent, the people enjoy the liberty of cutting the little money among them into halves and quarters for the conveniencies of ſmall traffic. How happy ſhould we be in compariſon of our preſent condition, if the like privilege were granted to us of employing the ſheers for want of a mint, upon our foreign gold, by clipping it into half-crowns and ſhillings, and even lower denominations; for beggars muſt be content to live upon ſcraps; and it would be our felicity, that theſe ſcraps could never be exported to other countries, while any thing better was left.

If

If neither of these projects will avail, I see nothing left us but to truck and barter our goods like the wild Indians with each other, or with our too powerful neighbours; only with this disadvantage on our side, that the Indians enjoy the product of their own land; whereas the better half of ours is sent away, without so much as a recompense in bugles or glass in return.

It must needs be a very comfortable circumstance in the present juncture, that some thousand families are gone, are going, or preparing to go from hence and settle themselves in America: the poorer sort for want of work; the farmers, whose beneficial bargains are now become a rack-rent too hard to be borne, and those who have any ready money, or can purchase any by the sale of their goods or leases, because they find their fortunes hourly decaying, that their goods will bear no price, and that few or none have any money to buy the very necessaries of life, are hastening to follow their departed neighbours. It is true, corn among us carries a very high price; but it is for the same reason, that rats, and cats, and dead horses have been often bought for gold in a town besieged.

There is a person of quality in my neighbourhood, who twenty years ago, when he was just come to age, being unexperienced, and of a generous temper, let his lands, even as times went then, at a low rate to able tenants; and consequently by the rise of land since that time looked upon his estate to be set at half value: but numbers of these tenants or their descendants are now offering to sell their leases by cant *, even those which were for lives, some of them renewable for ever, and some fee-farms, which the landlord himself hath bought in at half the price they would have yielded seven years ago. And some leases let at the same

* Cant or auction.

time

time for lives have been given up to him without any conſideration at all.

This is the moſt favourable face of all things at preſent among us; I ſay, among us of the north, who are eſteemed the only thriving people of the kingdom. And how far, and how ſoon this miſery and deſolation may ſpread, is eaſy to foreſee.

The vaſt ſums of money daily carried off by our numerous adventurers to America, have deprived us of our gold in theſe parts, almoſt as much as of our ſilver. And the good wives who come to our houſes offer us their pieces of linen, upon which their whole dependence lies, for ſo little profit, that it can neither half-pay their rents, nor half ſupport their families.

It is remarkable, that this enthuſiaſm ſpread among our northern people, of ſheltering themſelves in the continent of America, hath no other foundation than their preſent inſupportable condition at home. I have made all poſſible inquiries to learn what encouragement our people have met with, by any intelligence from thoſe plantations, ſufficient to make them undertake ſo tedious and hazardous a voyage, in all ſeaſons of the year, and ſo ill accommodated in their ſhips, that many of them have died miſerably in their paſſage, but could never get one ſatisfactory anſwer. Somebody, they know not who, had written a letter to his friend or couſin from thence, inviting him by all means to come over; that it was a fine fruitful country, and to be held for ever at a penny an acre. But the truth of the fact is this: the Engliſh eſtabliſhed in thoſe colonies are in great want of men to inhabit that tract of ground, which lies between them and the wild Indians, who are not reduced under their dominion. We read of ſome barbarous people, whom the Romans placed in their army for no other ſervice than to blunt their enemies ſwords, and afterwards to fill up trenches with their dead

dead bodies. And thus our people, who transport themselves, are settled in those interjacent tracts, as a screen against the insults of the savages; and may have as much lands as they can clear from the woods at a very reasonable rate, if they can afford to pay about a hundred years purchase by their labour. Now, besides the fox's reason *, which inclines all those who have already ventured thither to represent every thing in a false light, as well for justifying their own conduct, as for getting companions in their misery, the governing people in those plantations have also wisely provided, that no letters shall be suffered to pass from thence hither without being first viewed by the council; by which our people here are wholly deceived in the opinions they have of the happy condition of their friends gone before them. This was accidentally discovered some months ago by an honest man, who having transported himself and family thither, and finding all things directly contrary to his hope, had the luck to convey a private note by a faithful hand to his relation here, entreating him not to think of such a voyage, and to discourage all his friends from attempting it. Yet this, although it be a truth well known, hath produced very little effect; which is no manner of wonder: for as it is natural to a man in a fever to turn often, although without any hope of ease; or when he is pursued, to leap down a precipice to avoid an enemy just at his back; so men in the extremest degree of misery and want will naturally fly to the first appearance of relief, let it be ever so vain or visionary.

You may observe, that I have very superficially touched the subject I began with, and with the utmost caution; for I know how criminal the least complaint hath been thought, however seasonable,

* The fox who, having lost his tail would have persuaded the rest to cut off theirs.

or juſt or honeſtly intended, which hath forced me to offer up my daily prayers, that it may never, at leaſt in my time, be interpreted by inuendos as a falſe, ſcandalous, ſeditious, and diſaffected action for a man to roar under an acute fit of the gout; which, beſides the loſs and the danger, would be very inconvenient to one of my age, ſo ſeverly afflicted with that diſtemper.

I wiſh you good ſucceſs, but I can promiſe you little, in an ungrateful office you have taken up without the leaſt view either to reputation or profit. Perhaps your comfort is, that none but villains and betrayers of their country can be your enemies. Upon which I have little to ſay having not the honour to be acquainted with many of that ſort; and therefore, as you may eaſily believe, am compelled to lead a very retired life.

I am, SIR,

Your moſt obedient

Humble ſervant,

A. NORTH.

County of Down,
Dec. 2. 1728.

REMARKS on Dr. SWIFT's TRACTS relating to IRELAND.

Taken from Mr. DEAN SWIFT's ESSAY.

THESE tracts may, for any thing I know to the contrary, be thought local and temporary; and perhaps for that reaſon may chance to be neglected by ſucceeding generations; which happens to be the fate of almoſt all other points of hiſtory, excepting thoſe only which are ſtiffly ſupported by the clamour and virulence of contending parties, according to their ſeveral views and intereſts in the commonwealth. But as the writings of Dr. Swift, and particularly the Drapier's letters, are founded on the ſecure baſis of the laws of his country, and ſupported throughout the whole with the warmeſt zeal for liberty, they will for ever command the veneration of thoſe who are not unworthy to enjoy the bleſſings of our conſtitution. For although it be a truth ſcarce ever regarded, the ſubject-matter which happens to give riſe to any political treatiſe whatſoever is but of little conſequence; that ſpirit which is conveyed in the writings of a patriot, who is equally faithful to his King and country, being that alone which improveth our faculties, and therefore hath a claim to all the deepeſt of our attention, let what age or nation ſoever boaſt of the honour of his genius. But if the inhabitants of theſe nations, and particularly the people of Ireland, will continue to be like the deaf adder, which refuſeth to hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never ſo wiſely; the time may come, when, for want of a patriot inſpired like Dr. Swift to appriſe them

them of their danger, they may be doomed to chains and slavery, by the contrivance of some wicked impostor that may lie in wait for their destruction. Consider therefore, ye sons of Ireland, what hardships had like to have been inflicted upon your wise, your courageous patriot; consider what persecutions were set on foot against him by slaves and wretches, for no other crime but that of defending your liberties, or rather indeed for maintaining the very existence of your country, against one vile insignificant mechanic. Think not because that evil day is past, that in the womb of time there cannot be any further projects to undermine your liberties. Have ye not seen pretended patriots of late years, which have prostituted their impious pens to serve the vilest purposes? But thanks be to God! their writings have perished, and their names are universally pronounced with abhorrence, contempt, and execration. Read therefore, and imbibe the political principles of Dr. Swift; engrave them on the tablet of your hearts; teach them unto your childrens children; and above all things remember to fix an indelible mark of infamy upon those men who by their words, their actions, and other wicked insinuating artifices, endeavour to sap the vitals of your liberty. For be assured, that in the day of trial they will approve themselves to their masters to be corrupted slaves and traitors to their country.

As to the piece, intitled, *A short view of the state of Ireland*, written in 1727, [above, p. 53.] I cannot but declare myself heartily sorry, that I am forced to disagree with Lord Orrery with regard to his critic on it [above, p. 61.]. For surely among all the pleasures and delights which have any respect unto this habitable world, there can be none more generous, more intellectual, and more divine, than to rejoice in the prosperity of our country. But alas! the miseries of Ireland being the effects

of a thouſand cauſes, are, I am afraid, incurable. At leaſt all remedies but one (which is aboliſhing the uſe of gold and ſilver out of the whole community; a ſcheme too philoſophical, and perhaps too chimerical for ſo corrupted an age to reduce into practice) appear to be ſo exceedingly deſperate, that I verily believe it would require a legiſlator equal to the conductor of the Iſraelites out of the land of Egypt, to make them a rich and flouriſhing people, notwithſtanding the fertility of their ſoil, and the temperature of their climate.

I wonder that any man could poſſibly reſide for the greater part of eighteen years in Ireland, without remarking, to his infinite regret, that no people in the Chriſtian world are ſo deſtitute of raiment, food, and all the conveniencies of life, as the inhabitants of that wretched kingdom, notwithſtanding that by God and nature it is perhaps the moſt favoured of any country upon earth. *Optima natio, peſſima gens*, was, I remember, Dr. Swift's periphraſis for Ireland, whenever his patriot indignation was raiſed againſt the abſurdity of their conduct and politics.

In the *Short View* the Doctor enumerates fourteen cauſes of any country's flouriſhing and growing rich, and then examines what effects ariſe from theſe cauſes in Ireland. I am well convinced, that ſome few alterations have taken place ſince 1727. But whether in fact theſe alterations have at all contributed to the intereſt of the weal public; or whether it appears they have had the leaſt effect towards baniſhing complaining from our ſtreets, is at preſent one of the points to be conſidered; and the other is, how far the remarks of Dr. Swift are equally true at this day as they were in 1727.

I cannot but inſiſt upon it, that Ireland, with regard to twelve articles out of the fourteen is juſt in the ſame condition, and labours under the ſame diſadvan-

diſadvantages, this preſent year 1754, as it did in the year 1727.

With reſpect to the ſeventh article [above, p 54, 56.], which concerns the improvement of land, and the encouragement of agriculture, Ireland is by far in a worſe ſituation at preſent than it was in 1727, notwithſtanding many appearances to the contrary. For although it be certain that great improvements. and particularly the fineſt roads perhaps in the world, have been made ſince that epoch, flocks and herds have been only thereby multiplied. And although it be aſſerted by Lord Orrery [above, p. 61.] that agriculture is cultived (*i. e.* that the culture of land is cultivated) in Ireland; the greater part of the huſbandmen, the labourers, and the poor, have, merely for the ſake of thoſe curſed cattle which are the bane of Ireland, been driven out of their wretched habitations, and baniſhed the country, helpleſs, naked and forlorn; to rot, ſtarve, and periſh in deſolate places, to the great diminution of the inhabitants.

And as to the fourteenth article [above, p. 58.] the people of Ireland, by their folly, their madneſs, their luxury, and diſregard to all public intereſt, are by many degrees in a more wretched condition than they were in 1727; the moſt common neceſſaries, even their corn, their ale, and their potatoes being, to the ſhame and confuſion of their politics, imported from abroad, as well as their tea, their claret, and their ſpices.

As to the pamphlet, intitled, *A modeſt propoſal*, &c. [above, p. 237.], it is a humous treatiſe, equally the product of deſpair and benevolence; and ſeemeth to have been written in the bitterneſs of the Dean's ſoul, and principally addreſſed to the conſideration of thoſe mercileſs tyrants which ſtarve and oppreſs their fellow-creatures, even to the ſhame and deſtruction of their country. His propoſal is, to fatten up the children of beggars, cottagers,

and farmers, as they do lambs and pigs for the markets, and ſell their carcaſes to the rich; a food which he declares to be very proper for landlords; who, as they have already devoured moſt of the parents, ſeem to have the beſt title to their children.

As to Dr. Swift's political tracts relating to Ireland, wherein the rights of the clergy and the cauſe of Chriſtianity are expreſsly and immediatly concerned, I ſhall only obſerve in general, that Swift, being a thorough maſter of politics, and, far beyond all the wiſeſt of his contemporaries, deeply verſed in the hiſtory of parties, could diſcover at a ſurpriſing diſtance the natural conſequences of thoſe efforts which had been frequently made during the time he flouriſhed, to ſubvert our happy conſtitution both of church and ſtate; inſomuch that he appears from a great variety of his tracts, to have been one of the moſt ſagacious watchmen that ever was known in the church of Chriſt. *Swift.*

TRAVEL

TRAVELS

Into ſeveral REMOTE NATIONS of the World.

By LEMUEL GULLIVER, firſt a Surgeon, and then a Captain of ſeveral ſhips.

In FOUR PARTS.

The PUBLISHER to the READER.

THE author of theſe travels, Mr. Lemuel Gulliver, is my ancient and intimate friend; there is likewiſe ſome relation between us on the mother's ſide. About three years ago, Mr. Gulliver, growing weary of the concourſe of curious people coming to him at his houſe in Redriff, made a ſmall purchaſe of land, with a convenient houſe, near Newark in Nottinghamſhire, his native country, where he now lives retired, yet in good eſteem among his neighbours.

Although Mr. Gulliver was born in Nottinghamſhire, where his father dwelt, yet I have heard him ſay, his family came from Oxfordſhire; to confirm which, I have obſerved in the church-yard at Banbury, in that county, ſeveral tombs and monuments of the Gullivers.

Before he quitted Redriff, he left the cuſtody of the following papers in my hands, with the liberty

to

to diſpoſe of them as I ſhould think fit. I have carefully peruſed them three times: the ſtyle is very plain and ſimple; and the only fault I find is, that the author, after the manner of travellers, is a little too circumſtantial. There is an air of truth apparent through the whole; and indeed the author was ſo diſtinguiſhed for his veracity, that it became a ſort of a proverb among his neighbours at Redriff, when any one affirmed a thing, to ſay it was as true as if Mr. Gulliver had ſpoken it.

By the advice of ſeveral worthy perſons, to whom, with the author's permiſſion, I communicated theſe papers, I now venture to ſend them into the world, hoping they may be, at leaſt for ſome time, a better entertainment to our young noblemen, than the common ſcriblers of politics and party.

This volume would have been at leaſt twice as large, if I had not made bold to ſtrike out innumerable paſſages relating to the winds and tides, as well as to the variations and bearings in the ſeveral voyages, together with the minute deſcriptions of the management of the ſhip in ſtorms, in the ſtyle of ſailors; likewiſe the account of longitudes and latitudes; wherein I have reaſon to apprehend, that Mr. Gulliver may be a little diſſatisfied: but I was reſolved to fit the work as much as poſſible to the general capacity of readers. However, if my own ignorance in ſea-affairs ſhall have led me to commit ſome miſtakes, I alone am anſwerable for them: and if any traveller hath a curioſity to ſee the whole work at large, as it came from the hand of the author, I will be ready to gratify him.

As for any further particulars relating to the author, the reader will receive ſatisfaction from the firſt pages of the book.

RICHARD SYMSON.

A LETTER from Captain GULLIVER, to his Couſin SYMPSON.

Written in the year 1727.

I Hope you will be ready to own publickly, whenever you ſhall be called to it, that by your great and frequent urgency, you prevailed on me to publiſh a very looſe and uncorrect account of my travels, with direction to hire ſome young gentlemen of either univerſity to put them in order, and correct the ſtyle, as my couſin Dampier did by my advice, in his book called, "A voyage round the "world." But I do not remember I gave you power to conſent, that any thing ſhould be omitted, and much leſs that any thing ſhould be inſerted: therefore, as to the latter, I do here renounce every thing of that kind; particularly a paragraph about her Majeſty Queen Anne, of moſt pious and glorious memory; although I did reverence and eſteem her more than any of human ſpecies. But you, or your interpolator, ought to have conſidered, that as it was not my inclination, ſo was it not decent to praiſe any animal of our compoſition before my maſter Houyhnhnm: and beſides, the fact was altogether falſe; for, to my knowledge, being in England during ſome part of her Majeſty's reign, ſhe did govern by a chief miniſter; nay even by two ſucceſſively, the firſt whereof was the Lord of Godolphin, and the ſecond the Lord of Oxford; ſo that you have made me "ſay the thing that was "not."

"not." Likewiſe, in the account of the academy of projectors, and ſeveral paſſages of my diſcourſe to my maſter Houyhnhnm, you have either omitted ſome material circumſtances, or minced or changed them in ſuch a manner, that I do hardly know mine own work. When I formerly hinted to you ſomething of this in a letter, you were pleaſed to anſwer, that you were afraid of giving offence; that people in power were very watchful over the preſs, and apt not only to interpret, but to puniſh every thing which looked like an Inuendo, (as I think you call it). But, pray, how could that which I ſpoke ſo many years ago, and at above five thouſand leagues diſtance, in another reign, be applied to any of the Yahoos, who now are faid to govern the herd: eſpecially at a time when I little thought on, or feared, the unhappineſs of living under them? have not I the moſt reaſon to complain, when I ſee theſe very Yahoos carried by Houyhnhnms in a vehicle, as if theſe were brutes and thoſe the rational creatures? and indeed, to avoid ſo monſtrous and deteſtable a ſight, was one principle motive of my retirement hither.

Thus much I thought proper to tell you, in relation to yourſelf, and to the truſt I repoſed in you.

I do, in the next place, complain of my own great want of judgement, in being prevailed upon by the intreaties and falſe reaſonings of you and ſome others, very much againſt my own opinion, to ſuffer my travels to be publiſhed. Pray bring to your mind how often I deſired you to conſider, when you inſiſted on the motive of public good, that the Yahoos were a ſpecies of animals utterly incapable of amendment, by precepts or example: and ſo it hath proved; for, inſtead of ſeeing a full ſtop put to all abuſes and corruptions, at leaſt in this little iſland, as I had reaſon to expect; behold, after above ſix months warning, I cannot learn

learn that my book has produced one ſingle effect according to mine intentions. I deſired you would let me know by a letter, when party and faction were extinguiſhed; judges learned and upright; pleaders honeſt and modeſt, with ſome tincture of common ſenſe, and Smithfield blazing with pyramids of law-books; the young nobility's education entirely changed; the phyſicians baniſhed; the female Yahoos abounding in virtue, honour, truth, and good ſenſe; courts and levees of great miniſters thoroughly weeded and ſwept; wit, merit, and learning rewarded; all diſgracers of the preſs, in proſe and verſe, condemned to eat nothing but their own cotton, and quench their thirſt with their own ink. Theſe, and a thouſand other reformations, I firmly counted upon by your encouragement; as indeed they were plainly deducible from the precepts delivered in my book And it muſt be owned, that ſeven months were a ſufficient time to correct every vice and folly to which Yahoos are ſubject, if their natures had been capable of the leaſt diſpoſition to virtue or wiſdom; yet, ſo far have you been from anſwering mine expectation in any of your letters; that on the contrary you are loading our carrier every week with libels, and keys, and reflections, and memoirs, and ſecond parts; wherein I ſee myſelf accuſed of reflecting upon great ſtates-folk; of degrading human nature (for ſo they ſtill have the confidence to ſtile it) and of abuſing the female ſex. I find likewiſe, that the writers of thoſe bundles are not agreed among themſelves; for ſome of them will not allow me to be the author of mine own travels; and others make me author of books, to which I am wholly a ſtranger.

I find likewiſe, that your printer hath been ſo careleſs as to confound the times, and miſtake the dates of my ſeveral voyages and returns; neither aſſigning the true year, nor the true month, nor day of the month: and I hear the original manuſcript

nuſcript is all deſtroyed ſince the publication of my book; neither have I any copy left; however, I have ſent you ſome corrections, which you may inſert, if ever there ſhould be a ſecond edition: and yet I cannot ſtand to them; but ſhall leave that matter to my judicious and candid readers to adjuſt it as they pleaſe.

I hear ſome of our ſea-Yahoos find fault with my ſea-language, as not proper in many parts, nor now in uſe. I cannot help it. In my firſt voyages, while I was young, I was inſtructed by the oldeſt mariners, and learned to ſpeak as they did. But I have ſince found, that the ſea-Yahoos are apt, like the land ones, to become newfangled in their words, which the latter change every year; inſomuch, as I remember, upon each return to my own country, their old dialect was ſo altered, that I could hardly underſtand the new. And I obſerve, when any Yahoo comes from London, out of curioſity to viſit me at mine own houſe, we neither of us are able to deliver our conceptions in a manner intelligible to the other.

If the cenſure of the Yahoos could any way affect me, I ſhould have great reaſon to complain that ſome of them are ſo bold as to think my book of travels a mere fiction out of mine own brain, and have gone ſo far as to drop hints, that the Houyhnhnms and Yahoos have no more exiſtence than the inhabitants of Utopia.

Indeed I muſt confeſs, that as to the people of Lilliput, Brobdingrag (for ſo the word ſhould have been ſpelt, and not erroneouſly Brobdingnag) and Laputa, I have never yet heard of any Yahoo ſo preſumptuous as to diſpute their being, or the facts I have related concerning them; becauſe the truth immediately ſtrikes every reader with conviction. And is there leſs probability in my account of the Houyhnhnms or Yahoos, when it is manifeſt as to the latter, there are ſo many thouſands, even in this

this city, who only differ from their brother brutes in Houyhnhnm-land, becauſe they uſe a ſort of Jabber, and do not go naked? I wrote for their amendment, and not their approbation. The united praiſe of the whole race would be of leſs conſequence to me, than the neighing of thoſe two degenerate Houyhnhnms I keep in my ſtable; becauſe from theſe, degenerate as they are, I ſtill improve in ſome virtues without any mixture of vice.

Do theſe miſerable animals preſume to think, that I am ſo degenerated as to defend my veracity? Yahoo as I am, it is well known through all Houyhnhnm-land, that, by the inſtructions and example of my illuſtrious maſter, I was able in the compaſs of two years (although I confeſs with the utmoſt difficulty) to remove that infernal habit of lying, ſhuffling, deceiving, and equivocating, ſo deeply rooted in the very ſouls of all my ſpecies; eſpecially the Europeans.

I have other complaints to make upon this vexatious occaſion; but I forbear troubling myſelf or you any further. I muſt freely confeſs, that ſince my laſt return, ſome corruptions of my Yahoo nature have revived in me, by converſing with a few of your ſpecies, and particularly thoſe of mine own family, by an unavoidable neceſſity; elſe I ſhould never have attempted ſo abſurd a project as that of reforming the Yahoo race in this kingdom: but I have now done with all ſuch viſionary ſchemes for ever.

April 2, 1727.

*** That the original copy of theſe travels was altered, by the perſon through whoſe hands it was conveyed to the preſs, is a fact; but the paſſages of which Mr. Gulliver complains in his letter, are

to be found only in the firſt editions; for the Dean having reſtored the text wherever it had been altered, ſent the copy to the late Mr. Motte, by the hands of Mr. Charles Ford. This Copy has been exactly followed in every ſubſequent edition, except that printed in Ireland by George Falkener; the editor of which, ſuppoſing the Dean to be ſerious when he mentioned the corruptions of dates, and yet finding them unaltered, thought fit to alter them himſelf; there is however ſcarce one of theſe alterations, in which he has not committed a blunder; though, while he was thus buſied in defacing the parts that were perfect, he ſuffered the accidental blemiſhes of others to remain.——See the preface to this edition.

TRAVELS into several REMOTE NATIONS of the world *.

PART I.

A VOYAGE TO LILLIPUT.

CHAP. I.

The author gives some account of himself and family: his inducement to travel. He is shipwrecked, and swims for his life; gets safe on shore in the country of Lilliput: is made a prisoner, and carried up the country.

MY father had a small estate in Nottinghamshire; I was the third of five sons. He sent me to Emanuel college in Cambridge at fourteen years old, where I resided three years, and applied myself

* These voyages are intended as a moral political romance, in which Swift seems to have exerted the strongest efforts of a fine irregular genius. But while his imagination and his wit delight, the venomous strokes of his satire, although in some places just, are carried into so universal a severity, that not only all human actions, but human nature itself, is placed in the worst light. ——— Perfection in every attribute is not indeed allotted to particular men. But among the whole species, we discover such an assemblage of all the great and amiable virtues, as may convince us, that the original order of nature contains in it the greatest beauty. It is directed in a right line, but it deviates into curves and irregular motions, by various alterations and disturbing causes. Different qualifications shine out in different men. BACON and NEWTON (not to mention BOYLE) shew the divine extent of the human mind: of which power Swift could not be insensible; but his disappointments rendered him splenetic, and angry

myſelf cloſe to my ſtudies; but the charge of maintaining me, although I had a very ſcanty allowance, being too great for a narrow fortune, I was bound apprentice to Mr. James Bates, an eminent ſurgeon in London, with whom I continued four years; and my father now and then ſending me ſmall ſums of money, I laid them out in learning navigation, and other parts of the mathematics, uſeful to thoſe who intend to travel, as I always believed it would be ſome time or other my fortune to do. When I left Mr. Bates, I went down to my father; where, by the aſſiſtance of him and my uncle John, and ſome other relations, I got forty pounds, and a promiſe of thirty pounds a-year to maintain me at Leydon: there I ſtudied phyſic two years and ſe-

gry with the whole world.--- Education, habit, and conſtitution, give a ſurpriſing variety of characters; and while they produce ſome particular qualities, are apt to check others. Fortitude of mind ſeldom attends a ſedentary life: nor is the man whoſe ambitious views are croſſed, ſcarce ever afterwards endued with benevolence of heart. The ſame mind that is capable of exerting the greateſt virtue, by ſome deſect in the firſt ſteps of education often degenerates into the greateſt vice. Theſe effects take their ſource from cauſes almoſt mechanical. The ſoul in our preſent ſituation, is blended and incloſed with corporeal ſubſtance, and the matter of which our body is compoſed, produces ſtrange impulſes upon the mind.----To correct vice, by ſhewing her deformity, in oppoſition to the beauty of virtue, and to amend the falſe ſyſtems of philoſophy, by pointing out the errors, and applying ſalutary means to avoid them, is a noble deſign, and was, I would fain flatter myſelf the general intent of this hieroglyphic writer.-----Gulliver's travels are chiefly to be looked upon as an irregular eſſay of Swift's peculiar wit and humour. The inhabitants of Lilliput are repreſented, as if reflected from a concave mirror, by which every object is reduced to a deſpicable minuteneſs. The inhabitants of Brobdingnag, by a contrary mirror, are enlarged to a ſhocking deformity. In Lilliput we behold a ſet of puny inſects, or animalcules in human ſhape, ridiculouſly engaged in affairs of importance. In Brobdingnag the monſters of enormous ſize are employed in trifles.——In the two firſt parts there are many ridiculous adventures, even ſuch as muſt have exited mirth from Heraclitus. Where indelicacies do not intervene, the narrative is very entertaining and humorous. In ſome parts, Gulliver ſeems to have had particular incidents, if not particular perſons in his view. His obſervations on education are uſeful: and ſo are his improvements on the inſtitutions of Lycurgus. *Orrery.*

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ven months, knowing it would be uſeful in long voyages.

Soon after my return from Leyden, I was recommended by my good maſter Mr. Bates to be ſurgeon to the ſwallow, Captain Abraham Pannel commander: with whom I continued three years and a half, making a voyage or two into the Levant, and ſome other parts. When I came back, I reſolved to ſettle in London; to which Mr Bates, my maſter, encouraged me, and by him I was recommended to ſeveral patients. I took part of a ſmall houſe in the Old Jury; and being adviſed to alter my condition, I married Mrs. Mary Burton, ſecond daughter to Mr. Edmund Burton hoſier in Newgate-ſtreet, with whom I received four hundred pounds for a portion.

But, my good maſter Bates dying in two years after, and I having few friends, my buſineſs began to fail; for my conſcience would not ſuffer me to imitate the bad practice of too many among my brethren. Having therefore conſulted with my wife, and ſome of my acquaintance, I determined to go again to ſea. I was ſurgeon ſucceſſively in two ſhips, and made ſeveral voyages for ſix years to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, by which I got ſome addition to my fortune. My hours of leiſure I ſpent in reading the beſt of authors, antient and modern, being always provided with a good number of books; and when I was aſhore, in obſerving the manners and diſpoſitions of the people, as well as learning their language, wherein I had a great facility by the ſtrength of my memory.

The laſt of theſe voyages not proving very fortunate, I grew weary of the ſea, and intended to ſtay at home with my wife and family. I removed from the Old Jury to Fetter-lane, and from thence to Wapping, hoping to get buſineſs among the ſailors; but it would not turn to account. After three years expectation that things would mend, I accept-

ed an advantageous offer from Captain William Prichard, maſter of the Antelope, who was making a voyage to the South-Sea, We ſet ſail from Briſtol, May 4. 1699; and our voyage at firſt was very proſperous.

It would not be proper, for ſome reaſons, to trouble the reader with the particulars of our adventures in thoſe ſeas. Let it ſuffice to inform him, that, in our paſſage from thence to the Eaſt-Indies, we were driven by a violent ſtorm to the north-weſt of Van Diemen's land. By an obſervation we found ourſelves in the latitude of 30 degrees 2 minutes ſouth. Twelve of our crew were dead by immoderate labour, and ill food; the reſt were in a very weak condition. On the 5th of November, which was the beginning of ſummer in thoſe parts, the weather being very hazy, the ſeamen ſpied a rock within half a cable's length of the ſhip; but the wind was ſo ſtrong, that we were driven directly upon it, and immediately ſplit. Six of the crew, of whom I was one, having let down the boat into the ſea, made a ſhift to get clear of the ſhip and the rock. We rowed by my computation about three leagues, till we were able to work no longer, being already ſpent with labour while we were in the ſhip. We therefore truſted ourſelves to the mercy of the waves, and in about half an hour the boat was overſet by a ſudden ſlurry from the north. What became of my companions in the boat, as well as of thoſe who eſcaped on the rock, or were left in the veſſel, I cannot tell; but conclude they were all loſt. For my own part, I ſwam as fortune directed me, and was puſhed forward by wind and tide. I often let my legs drop, and could feel no bottom: but when I was almoſt gone, and able to ſtruggle no longer, I found myſelf within my depth: and by this time the ſtorm was much abated. The declivity was ſo ſmall, that I walked near a mile before I got to the ſhore, which I conjectured

red was about eight o'clock in the evening. I then advanced forward near half a mile, but could not discover any sign of houses or inhabitants; at least I was in so weak a condition, that I did not observe them. I was extremely tired, and with that, and the heat of the weather, and about half a pint of brandy that I drank as I left the ship, I found myself much inclined to sleep. I lay down on the grass, which was very short and soft, where I slept sounder than ever I remembered to have done in my life, and, as I reckoned, about nine hours; for when I awaked, it was just day-light. I attempted to rise, but was not able to stir: for as I happened to lie on my back, I found my arms and legs were strongly fastened on each side to the ground; and my hair which was long and thick, tied down in the same manner, I likewise felt several slender ligatures across my body, from my arm-pits to my thighs. I could only look upwards, the sun began to grow hot, and the light offended my eyes. I heard a confused noise about me; but, in the posture I lay, could see nothing except the sky. In a little time I felt something alive moving on my left leg, which advancing gently forward over my breast, came almost up to my chin; when bending my eyes downward as much as I could, I perceived it to be a human creature not six inches high, with a bow and arrow in his hands, and a quiver at his back. In the mean time, I felt at least forty more, of the same kind (as I conjectured) following the first. I was in the utmost astonishment, and roared so loud, that they all ran back in a fright; and some of them, as I was afterwards told, were hurt with the falls they got by leaping from my sides upon the ground. However, they soon returned, and one of them, who ventured so far as to get a full sight of my face, lifting up his hands and eyes by way of admiration, cried out in a shrill but distinct voice, *Hekinah degul*: the others repeated the same words

words ſeveral times, but I then knew not what they meant. I lay all this while, as the reader may believe, in great uneaſineſs; at length ſtruggling to get looſe, I had the fortune to break the ſtrings, and wrench out the pegs, that faſtened my left arm to the ground; for, by lifting it up to my face, I diſcovered the methods they had taken to bind me, and at the ſame time, with a violent pull, which gave me exceſſive pain, I a little looſened the ſtrings that tied down my hair on the left ſide, ſo that I was juſt able to turn my head about two inches. But the creatures run off a ſecond time before I could ſeize them; whereupon there was a great ſhout in a very ſhrill accent, and after it ceaſed, I heard one of them cry aloud, *Tolgo phonac*; when in an inſtant I felt above an hundred arrows diſcharged on my left hand, which pricked me like ſo many needles; and beſides, they ſhot another flight into the air, as we do bombs in Europe, whereof many, I ſuppoſe, fell on my body, (tho' I felt them not) and ſome on my face, which I immediately covered with my left hand. When this ſhower of arrows was over, I fell a groaning with grief and pain, and then ſtriving again to get looſe, they diſcharged another volley larger than the firſt, and ſome of them attempted with ſpears to ſtick me in the ſides; but by good luck I had on me a buff jerkin, which they could not pierce. I thought it the moſt prudent method to lie ſtill, and my deſign was to continue ſo till night, when, my left hand being already looſe, I could eaſily free myſelf: and as for the inhabitants, I had reaſon to believe I might be a match for the greateſt army they could bring againſt me, if they were all of the ſame ſize with him that I ſaw. But fortune diſpoſed otherwiſe of me. When the people obſerved I was quiet, they diſcharged no more arrows: but, by the noiſe I heard, I knew their numbers increaſed; and about four yards from me, over againſt my right ear, I heard a knocking for about an

an hour, like that of people at work: when turning my head that way, as well as the pegs and ſtrings would permit me, I ſaw a ſtage erected about a foot and a half from the ground, capable of holding four of the inhabitants, with two or three ladders to mount it: from whence one of them, who ſeemed to be a perſon of quality, made me a long ſpeech, whereof I underſtood not one ſyllable. But I ſhould have mentioned, that before the principal perſon began his oration, he cried out three times, *Langro dehul ſan*: (theſe words and the former were afterwards repeated and explained to me). Whereupon immediately about fifty of the inhabitants came and cut the ſtrings that faſtened the left ſide of my head, which gave me the liberty of turning it to the right, and of obſerving the perſon and geſture of him that was to ſpeak. He appeared to be of a middle age, and taller than any of the other three who attended him, whereof one was a page that held up his train, and ſeemed to be ſomewhat longer than my middle finger, the other two ſtood on each ſide to ſupport him. He acted every part of an orator, and I could obſerve many periods of threatenings, and others of promiſes, pity, and kindneſs. I anſwered in a few words, but in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, lifting up my left hand and both my eyes to the ſun, as calling him for a witneſs; and being almoſt famiſhed with hunger, having not eaten a morſel for ſome hours before I left the ſhip, I found the demands of nature ſo ſtrong upon me, that I could not forbear ſhewing my impatience (perhaps againſt the ſtrict rules of decency) by putting my finger frequently to my mouth, to ſignify that I wanted food. The *Hurgo* (for ſo they call a great lord, as I afterwards learned) underſtood me very well. He deſcended from the ſtage, and commanded that ſeveral ladders ſhould be applied to my ſides, on which above an hundred of the inhabitants mounted, and walked towards

wards my mouth, laden with baſkets full of meat which had been provided and ſent thither by the king's orders, upon the firſt intelligence he received of me. I obſerved there was the fleſh of ſeveral animals, but could not diſtinguiſh them by the taſte. There were ſhoulders, legs, and loins, ſhaped like thoſe of mutton, and very well dreſſed, but ſmaller than the wings of a lark. I eat them by two or three at at mouthful, and took three loaves at a time about the bigneſs of muſket-bullets. They ſupplied me as faſt as they could, ſhewing a thouſand marks of wonder and aſtoniſhment at my bulk and appetite. I then made another ſign, that I wanted drink. They found by my eating, that a ſmall quantity would not ſuffice me, and being the moſt ingenious people, they ſlung up with great dexterity one of their largeſt hogſheads, then rolled it towards my hand, and beat out the top; I drank it off at a draught, which I might well do, for it did not hold half a pint, and taſted like a ſmall wine of burgundy, but much more delicious. They brought me a ſecond hogſhead, which I drank in the ſame manner, and made ſigns for more; but they had none to give me. When I had performed theſe wonders, they ſhouted for joy, and danced upon my breaſt, repeating ſeveral times, as they did at firſt, *Hekinah degul*. They made me a ſign that I ſhould throw down the two hogſheads, but firſt warning the people below to ſtand out of the way, crying aloud, *Borach mevolo*, and when they ſaw the veſſels in the air, there was an univerſal ſhout of *Hekinah degul*. I confeſs I was often tempted, while they were paſſing backwards and forwards on my body, to ſeize forty or fifty of the firſt that came in my reach, and daſh them againſt the ground. But the remembrance of what I had felt, which probably might not be the worſt they could do, and the promiſe of honour I made them, for ſo I interpreted my ſubmiſſive

miſſive behaviour, ſoon drove out theſe imaginations. Beſides, I now conſidered myſelf as bound by the laws of hoſpitality to a people, who had treated me with ſo much expenſe and magnificence. However, in my thoughts I could not ſufficiently wonder at the intrepidity of theſe diminutive mortals, who durſt venture to mount and walk upon my body, while one of my hands was at liberty, without trembling at the very ſight of ſo prodigious a creature, as I muſt appear to them. After ſome time, when they obſerved that I made no more demands for meat, there appeared before me a perſon of high rank from his Imperial Majeſty. His Excellency having mounted on the ſmall of my right leg, advanced forwards up to my face, with about a dozen of his retinue. And producing his credentials under the ſignet royal, which he applied cloſe to my eyes, ſpoke about ten minutes without any ſigns of anger, but with a kind of determinate reſolution, often pointing forwards, which, as I afterwards found, was towards the capital city, about half a mile diſtant, whither it was agreed by his Majeſty in council that I muſt be conveyed. I anſwered in few words, but to no purpoſe, and made a ſign with my hand that was looſe, putting it to the other (but over his excellency's head, for fear of hurting him or his train) and then to my own head and body, to ſignify that I deſired my liberty. It appeared, that he underſtood me well enough, for he ſhook his head by way of diſapprobation, and held his hand in a poſture to ſhew, that I muſt be carried as a priſoner. However he made other ſigns to let me underſtand, that I ſhould have meat and drink enough, and very good treatment. Whereupon I once more thought of attempting to break my bonds, but again, when I felt the ſmart of their arrows upon my face and hands, which were all in bliſters, and many of the darts ſtill ſticking in them, and obſerving

ſerving likewiſe that the number of my enemies in creaſed, I gave tokens to let them know, that the might do with me what they pleaſed. Upon this th Hurgo and his train withdrew, with much civility and chearful countenances. Soon after I heard general ſhout, with frequent repetitions of th words, *Peplom ſelan*, and I felt great numbers o people on my left ſide, relaxing the cords to ſuch degree that I was able to turn upon my right, an to eaſe myſelf with making water; which I ver plentifully did, to the great aſtoniſhment of th people, who conjecturing, by my motion, what was going to do, immediately opened to the righ and left on that ſide, to avoid the torrent, whic fell with ſuch noiſe and violence from m But, before this, they had daubed my face an both my hands with a ſort of ointment very plea ſant to the ſmell, which in a few minutes remove all the ſmart of their arrows. Theſe circumſtance added to the refreſhment I had received by the victuals and drink, which were very nouriſhin diſpoſed me to ſleep. I ſlept about eight hours, I was afterwards aſſured; and it was no wonde for the phyſicians, by the Emperor's order, ha mingled a ſleepy potion in the hogſheads of wine.

It ſeems that upon the firſt moment I was diſco vered, ſleeping on the ground after my landin the Emperor had early notice of it by an expreſs and determined in council, that I ſhould be tied i the manner I have related, (which was done in th night while I ſlept) that plenty of meat and drin ſhould be ſent to me, and a machine prepared t carry me to the capital city.

This reſolution perhaps may appear very bol and dangerous, and I am confident would not b imitated by any prince in Europe on the like occa ſion; however, in my opinion, it was extremel prudent, as well as generous, for ſuppoſing thoſ people had endeavoured to kill me with their ſpear

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and arrows while I was asleep, I should certainly have awaked with the first sense of smart, which might so far have rouzed my rage and strength, as to have enabled me to break the strings, wherewith I was tied; after which, as they were not able to make resistance, so they could expect no mercy.

The people are most excellent mathematicians, and arrived to a great perfection in mechanics by the countenance and encouragement of the Emperor, who is a renowned patron of learning. This prince hath several machines fixed on wheels for the carriage of trees and other great weights. He often builds his largest men of war, whereof some are nine feet long, in the woods where the timber grows, and has them carried on these engines three or four hundred yards to the sea. Five hundred carpenters and engineers were immediately set at work to prepare the greatest engine they had. It was a frame of wood raised three inches from the ground, about seven feet long and four wide, moving upon twenty-two wheels. The shout I heard was upon the arrival of this engine, which it seems set out in four hours after my landing. It was brought parallel to me, as I lay. But the principal difficulty was to raise and place me into this vehicle. Eighty poles each of one foot high, were erected for this purpose, and very strong cords of the bigness of packthread were fastened by hooks to many bandages, which the workmen had girt round my neck, my hands, my body, and my legs. Nine hundred of the strongest men were employed to draw up these cords by many pullies fastened on the poles; and thus, in less than three hours, I was raised and flung into the engine, and there tied fast. All this I was told, for, while the whole operation was performing, I lay in a profound sleep by the force of that soporiferous medicine infused into my liquor. Fifteen hundred of the Emperor's

largeſt horſes, each about four inches and an half high, were employed to draw me towards the metropolis, which, as I ſaid, was half a mile diſtant.

About four hours after we began our journey, I awaked by a very ridiculous accident; for the carriage being ſtopt a while, to adjuſt ſomething, that was out of order, two or three of the young natives had the curioſity to ſee how I looked when I was aſleep; they climbed up into the engine, and advancing very ſoftly to my face, one of them, an officer in the guards, put the ſharp end of his half-pike a good way into my left noſtril, which tickled my noſe like a ſtraw, and made me ſneeze violently *: whereupon they ſtole off unperceived, and it was three weeks before I knew the cauſe of my awaking ſo ſuddenly. We made a long march the remaining part of the day, and reſted at night with five hundred guards on each ſide of me, half with torches, and half with bows and arrows, ready to ſhoot me if I ſhould offer to ſtir. The next morning, at ſun-riſe, we continued our march, and arrived within two hundred yards of the city-gates about noon. The Emperor and all his court came out to meet us, but his great officers would by no means ſuffer his Majeſty to endanger his perſon by mounting on my body.

At the place where the carriage ſtopt, there ſtood an ancient temple, eſteemed to be the largeſt in the whole kingdom, which, having been polluted ſome

* It has been remarked, that courage in whatever cauſe, though it ſometimes excites indignation, is never the object of contempt; but this appears to be true, only becauſe courage is ſuppoſed to imply ſuperiority: for this *officer in the guards* becomes extremely ridiculous and contemptible, by an act of the moſt daring curioſity, which ſets him in compariſon with Gulliver; to whom he was ſo much inferior, that a blaſt of the *man mountain's* noſtrils would have endangered his life; and if heroiſm itſelf is not proof againſt ridicule, theſe ſurely are Lilliputians in philoſophy, who conſider ridicule as the teſt of truth.

years

years before by an unnatural murder, was, according to the zeal of thoſe people, looked upon as profane, and therefore had been applied to common uſe, and all the ornaments and furniture carried away. In this edifice it was determined I ſhould lodge. The great gate, fronting to the north, was about four feet high, and almoſt two feet wide, through which I could eaſily creep. On each ſide of the gate was a ſmall window, not above ſix inches from the ground: into that on the left ſide, the King's ſmith conveyed fourſcore and eleven chains, like thoſe that hang to a lady's watch in Europe, and almoſt as large, which were locked to my left leg with ſix and thirty padlocks. Over-againſt this temple, on the other ſide of the great highway, at twenty feet diſtance, there was a turret at leaſt five feet high. Here the Emperor aſcended with many principal lords of his court to have an opportunity of viewing me, as I was told, for I could not ſee them. It was reckoned, that above an hundred thouſand inhabitants came out of the town upon the ſame errand; and in ſpite of my guards, I believe, there could not be fewer than ten thouſand at ſeveral times, who mounted my body by the help of ladders. But a proclamation was ſoon iſſued to forbid it upon pain of death. When the workmen found it was impoſſible for me to break looſe, they cut all the ſtrings that bound me; whereupon I roſe up with as melancholy a diſpoſition, as ever I had in my life. But the noiſe and aſtoniſhment of the people at ſeeing me riſe and walk are not to be expreſſed. The chains that held my left leg were about two yards long, and gave me not only the liberty of walking backwards and forwards in a ſemicircle: but being fixed within four inches of the gate, allowed me to creep in, and lie at my full length in the temple.

CHAP. II.

The Emperor of Lilliput, attended by several of the nobility, comes to see the author in his confinement. The Emperor's person and habit described. Learned men appointed to teach the author their language. He gains favour by his mild disposition. His pockets are searched, and his sword and pistols taken from him.

WHEN I found myself on my feet, I looked about me, and must confess I never beheld a more entertaining prospect. The country around appeared like a continued garden, and the inclosed fields which were generally forty feet square, resembled so many beds of flowers. These fields were intermingled with woods of half a stang *, and the tallest trees, as I could judge, appeared to be seven feet high. I viewed the town on my left hand, which looked like the painted scene of a city in a theatre.

I had been for some hours extremely pressed by the necessities of nature; which was no wonder, it being almost two days since I had last disburdened myself. I was under great difficulties between urgency and shame. The best expedient I could think on, was to creep into my house, which I accordingly did; and, shutting the gate after me, I went as far as the length of my chain would suffer, and discharged my body of that uneasy load. But this was the only time I was ever guilty of so uncleanly an action; for which I cannot but hope the candid reader will give some allowance, after he

* A *stang* is a pole or perch; sixteen feet and an half.

hath

hath maturely and impartially conſidered my caſe, and the diſtreſs I was in. From this time my conſtant practice was, as ſoon as I roſe, to perform that buſineſs in open air, at the full extent of my chain; and due care was taken every morning, before company came, that the offenſive matter ſhould be carried off in wheel-barrows, by two ſervants appointed for that purpoſe. I would not have dwelt ſo long upon a circumſtance that, perhaps, at firſt ſight may appear not very momentous, if I had not thought it neceſſary to juſtify my character in point of cleanlineſs to the world; which, I am told, ſome of my maligners have been pleaſed, upon this and other occaſions, to call in queſtion.

When this adventure was at an end, I came back out of my houſe, having occaſion for freſh air. The Emperor was already deſcended from the tower, and advancing on horſe-back towards me, which had like to have coſt him dear; for the beaſt, though very well trained, yet wholly unuſed to ſuch a ſight, which appeared as if a mountain moved before him, reared up on his hinder feet: but that prince, who is an excellent horſeman, kept his ſeat, till his attendants ran in and held the bridle, while his majeſty had time to diſmount. When he alighted, he ſurveyed me round with great admiration; but kept beyond the length of my chain. He ordered his cooks and butlers, who were already prepared, to give me victuals and drink, which they puſhed forward in a ſort of vehicles upon wheels, till I could reach them. I took theſe vehicles, and ſoon emptied them all; twenty of them were filled with meat, and ten with liquor; each of the former afforded me two or three good mouthfuls; and I emptied the liquor of ten veſſels, which was contained in earthen vials, into one vehicle, drinking it off at a draught; and ſo I did with the reſt. The Empreſs, and young princes of the blood of both ſexes, attended by many ladies, ſat at ſome

diſtance in their chairs; but upon the accident that happened to the Emperor's horſe, they alighted, and came near his perſon, which I am now going to deſcribe. He is taller by almoſt the breadth of my nail, than any of his court, which alone is enough to ſtrike an awe into the beholders. His features are ſtrong and maſculine, with an Auſtrian lip and arched noſe, his complexion olive, his countenance erect, his body and limbs well proportioned, all his motions graceful, and his deportment majeſtic. He was then paſt his prime, being twenty-eight years and three quarters old, of which he had reigned about ſeven in great felicity, and generally victorious. For the better convenience of beholding him, I lay on my ſide, ſo that my face was parallel to his, and he ſtood but three yards off: however, I have had him ſince many times in my hand, and therefore cannot be deceived in the deſcription. His dreſs was very plain and ſimple, and the faſhion of it between the Aſiatic and European: but he had on his head a light helmet of gold, adorned with jewels, and a plume on the creſt. He held his ſword drawn in his hand to defend himſelf, if I ſhould happen to break looſe †; it was almoſt three inches long; the hilt and ſcabbard were gold enriched with diamonds. His voice was ſhrill, but very clear and articulate, and I could diſtinctly hear it when I ſtood up. The ladies and courtiers were all moſt magnificently clad, ſo that the ſpot they ſtood upon ſeemed to reſemble a petticoat ſpread upon the ground, embroidered

†. The maſculine ſtrength of features, which Gulliver could not ſee, till he laid his face upon the ground; and the awful ſuperiority of ſtature in a being, whom he held in his hand; the helmet, the plume, and the ſword, are a fine reproof of human pride; the objects of which are trifling diſtinctions, whether of perſon or rank; the ridiculous parade and oſtentation of a pigmy, which derive not only their origin, but their uſe, from the folly, weakneſs, and imperfection of ourſelves and others.

with

with figures of gold and silver. His imperial majesty spoke often to me, and I returned answers; but neither of us could understand a syllable. There were several of his priests and lawyers present, (as I conjectured by their habits) who were commanded to address themselves to me, and I spoke to them in as many languages as I had the least smattering of, which were High and Low Dutch, Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, and Lingua Franca; but all to no purpose. After about two hours the court retired, and I was left with a strong guard, to prevent the impertinence, and probably the malice of the rabble, who were very impatient to crowd about me as near as they durst, and some of them had the impudence to shoot their arrows at me, as I sat on the ground by the door of my house, whereof one very narrowly missed my left eye. But the colonel ordered six of the ring-leaders to be seized; and thought no punishment so proper, as to deliver them bound into my hands, which some of his soldiers accordingly did, pushing them forwards with the butt-ends of their pikes into my reach: I took them all on my right hand, put five of them into my coat-pocket, and as to the sixth, I made a countenance as if I would eat him alive. The poor man squalled terribly, and the colonel and his officers were in much pain, especially when they saw me take out my penknife: but I soon put them out of fear; for, looking mildly, and immediately cutting the strings he was bound with, I set him gently on the ground, and away he ran. I treated the rest in the same manner, taking them one by one out of my pocket; and I observed both the soldiers and the people were highly delighted at this mark of my clemency, which was represented very much to my advantage at court.

Towards night I got with some difficulty into my house, where I lay on the ground, and continued to do so about a fortnight; during which time the Emperor

Emperor gave orders to have a bed prepared for me Six hundred beds of the common meaſure were brought in carriages, and worked up in my houſe; an hundred and fifty of their beds, ſewn together, made up the breadth and length; and theſe were four double, which however kept me but very indifferently from the hardneſs of the floor, that was of ſmooth ſtone. By the ſame computation they provided me with ſheets, blankets, and coverlets, tolerable enough for one who had been ſo long inured to hardſhips *.

As the news of my arrival ſpread through the kingdom, it brought prodigious numbers of rich, idle, and curious people to ſee me; ſo that the villages were almoſt emptied, and great neglect of tillage and houſehold affairs muſt have enſued, if his imperial majeſty had not provided by ſeveral proclamations and orders of ſtate againſt this inconveniency. He directed, that thoſe who had already beheld me ſhould return home, and not preſume to come within fifty yards of my houſe, without licence from court; whereby the ſecretaries of ſtate got conſiderable fees.

In the mean time, the Emperor held frequent councils, to debate what courſe ſhould be taken with me; and I was afterwards aſſured by a particular friend, a perſon of great quality, who was as much in the ſecret as any, that the court was under many difficulties concerning me. They apprehended my breaking looſe; that my diet would be

* Gulliver has obſerved great exactneſs in the juſt proportion and appearances of the ſeveral objects thus le'ened and magnified. But he dwells too much upon theſe optical deceptions. The mind is tired with a repetition of them, eſpecially as he points out no beauty nor uſe in ſuch amazing diſcoveries, which might have been ſo continued as to have afforded improvement, at the ſame time that they gave aſtoniſhment. He too often ſhews an indelicacy that is not agreeable, and exerts his vein of humour moſt improperly in ſome places, where, I am afraid, he glances at religion. *Orrery.*

very

every expenſive, and might cauſe a famine. Sometimes they determined to ſtarve me, or at leaſt to ſhoot me in the face and hands with poiſoned arrows, which would ſoon diſpatch me; but again they conſidered, that the ſtench of ſo large a carcaſe might produce a plague in the metropolis, and probably ſpread through the whole kingdom. In the midſt of theſe conſultations, ſeveral officers of the army went to the door of the great council-chamber, and two of them being admitted, gave an account of my behaviour to the ſix criminals above-mentioned, which made ſo favourable an impreſſion in the breaſt of his majeſty, and the whole board, in my behalf, that an imperial commiſſion was iſſued out, obliging all the villages nine hundred miles round the city, to deliver in every morning ſix beeves, forty ſheep, and other victuals for my ſuſtenance; together with a proportionable quantity of bread and wine, and other liquors; for the due payment of which his majeſty gave aſſignments upon his treaſury. For this prince lives chiefly upon his own demeſnes, ſeldom, except upon great occaſions, raiſing any ſubſidies upon his ſubjects, who are bound to attend him in his wars at their own expence. An eſtabliſhment was alſo made of ſix hundred perſons to be my domeſtics, who had board-wages allowed for their maintainance, and tents built for them very conveniently on each ſide of my door. It was likewiſe ordered, that three hundred taylors ſhould make me a ſuit of cloaths after the faſhion of the country: that ſix of his majeſty's greateſt ſcholars ſhould be employed to inſtruct me in their language: and laſtly, that the Emperor's horſes, and thoſe of the nobility, and troops of guards, ſhould be frequently exerciſed in my ſight, to accuſtom themſelves to me. All theſe orders were duly put in execution, and in about three weeks I made a great progreſs in learning their language; during which time the Emperor

Emperor frequently honoured me with his visits, and was pleased to assist my masters in teaching me. We began already to converse together in some sort; and the first words I learnt were to express my desire, that he would please to give me my liberty, which I every day repeated on my knees. His answer, as I could apprehend it, was, that this must be a work of time, not to be thought on without the advice of his council, and that first I must *lumos kelmin pessо dessmar lon emposo*; that is, swear a peace with him and his kingdom. However, that I should be used with all kindness; and he advised me to acquire by my patience and discreet behaviour, the good opinion of himself and his subjects. He desired I would not take it ill, if he gave orders to certain proper officers to search me, for probably I might carry about me several weapons, which must needs be dangerous things, if they answered the bulk of so prodigious a person. I said, his majesty should be satisfied; for I was ready to strip myself, and turn up my pockets before him. This I delivered, part in words, and part in signs. He replied, that by the laws of the kingdom I must be searched by two of his officers; that he knew this could not be done without my consent and assistance; that he had so good an opinion of my generosity and justice, as to trust their persons in my hands: that whatever they took from me should be returned when I left the country, or paid for at the rate which I should set upon them. I took up the two officers in my hands, put them first into my coat-pockets, and then into every other pocket about me, except my two fobs, and another secret pocket, which I had no mind should be searched, wherein I had some little necessaries, that were of no consequence to any but myself. In one of my fobs there was a silver watch, and in the other a small quantity of gold in a purse. These gentlemen, having pen, ink and paper a-

bout

bout them, made an exact inventory of every thing they saw; and, when they had done, desired I would set them down, that they might deliver it to the Emperor. This inventory I afterwards translated into English, and is word for word as follows:

Imprimis, In the right coat-pocket of the *great man-mountain* (for so I interpret the words *quinbus flestrin*), after the strictest search, we found only one great piece of coarse cloth, large enough to be a foot-cloth for your majesty's chief room of state. In the left pocket we saw a huge silver chest, with a cover of the same metal, which we, the searchers were not able to lift. We desired it should be opened, and one of us stepping into it, found himself up to the mid-leg in a sort of dust, some part whereof flying up to our faces, set us both a-sneezing for several times together. In his right waistcoat-pocket we found a prodigious bundle of white thin substances, folded one over another, about the bigness of three men, tied with a strong cable, and marked with black figures; which we humbly conceive to be writings, every letter almost half as large as the palm of our hands In the left there was a sort of engine, from the back of which were extended twenty long poles, resembling the palisadoes before your majesty's court; wherewith we conjecture the *man-mountain* combs his head; for we did not always trouble him with questions, because we found it a great difficulty to make him understand us. In the large pocket on the right side of his middle cover (so I translate the word *Ranfu-lo*, by which they meant my breeches) we saw a hollow pillar of iron, about the length of a man, fastened to a strong piece of timber, larger than the pillar; and upon one side of the pillar were huge pieces of iron sticking out, cut into strange figures, which we know not what to make of. In the left pocket another engine of the same kind. In the smaller

ſmaller pocket on the right ſide were ſeveral round flat pieces of white and red metal of different bulk; ſome of the white, which ſeemed to be ſilver, were ſo large and heavy, that my comrade and I could hardly lift them. In the left pocket were two black pillars irregularly ſhaped: we could not without difficulty reach the top of them as we ſtood at the bottom of his pocket. One of them was covered, and ſeemed all of a piece: but at the upper end of the other there appeared a white round ſubſtance, about twice the bigneſs of our heads. Within each of theſe was incloſed a prodigious plate of ſteel; which, by our orders, we obliged him to ſhew us, becauſe we apprehended they might be dangerous engines. He took them out of their caſes, and told us, that in his own country his practice was to ſhave his beard with one of theſe, and to cut his meat with the other. There were two pockets which we could not enter: theſe he called his fobs; they were two large ſlits cut into the top of his middle cover, but ſqueezed cloſe by the preſſure of his belly. Out of the right fob hung a great ſilver chain with a wonderful kind of engine at the bottom. We directed him to draw out whatever was at the end of that chain; which appeared to be a globe, half ſilver, and half of ſome tranſparent metal: for on the tranſparent ſide we ſaw certain ſtrange figures circularly drawn, and thought we could touch them, till we found our fingers ſtopped by that lucid ſubſtance. He put this engine to our ears, which made an inceſſant noiſe like that of a water-mill: and we conjecture it is either ſome unknown animal, or the god that he worſhips; but we are more inclined to the latter opinion, becauſe he aſſured us (if we underſtood him right, for he expreſſed himſelf very imperfectly) that he ſeldom did any thing without conſulting it. He called it his oracle, and ſaid it

it pointed out the time for every action of his life*. From the left fob he took out a net, almoſt large enough for a fiſherman, but contrived to open and ſhut like a purſe, and ſerved him for the ſame uſe: we found therein ſeveral maſſy pieces of yellow metal, which, if they be real gold, muſt be of immenſe value.

Having thus, in obedience to your majeſty's commands, diligently ſearched all his pockets, we obſerved a girdle about his waiſt, made of the hide of ſome prodigious animal, from which, on the left ſide, hung a ſword of the length of five men; and on the right, a bag or pouch divided into two cells, each cell capable of holding three of your majeſty's ſubjects. In one of theſe cells were ſeveral globes, or balls, of a moſt ponderous metal, about the bigneſs of our heads, and required a ſtrong hand to lift them: the other cell contained a heap of certain black grains, but of no great bulk or weight, for we could hold above fifty of them in the palms of our hands.

This is an exact inventory of what we found about the body of the man-mountain, who uſed us with great civility, and due reſpect to your majeſty's commiſſion. Signed and ſealed on the fourth day of the eighty-ninth moon of your majeſty's auſpicious reign.

Clefrin Freloc, Marſi Freloc.

When this inventory was read over to the Emperor, he directed me, although in very gentle terms, to deliver up the ſeveral particulars. He firſt called for my ſcymiter, which I took out, ſcabbard and all. In the mean time he ordered three thouſand of his choiceſt troops (who then attended him) to ſur-

* Perhaps the author intended to expoſe the probable fallacy of opinions derived from the relations of travellers, by ſhewing how little truth need to be miſunderſtood to make falſehood ſpecious.

round me at a diſtance, with their bows and arrows juſt ready to diſcharge: but I did not obſerve it, for mine eyes were wholly fixed upon his Majeſty. He then deſired me to draw my ſcymiter, which, although it had got ſome ruſt by the ſea-water, was in moſt parts exceeding bright. I did ſo, and immediately all the troops gave a ſhout between terror and ſurprize; for the ſun ſhone clear, and the reflection dazzled their eyes, as I waved the ſcymitar to and fro in my hand. His majeſty, who is a moſt magnanimous prince *, was leſs daunted than I could expect; he ordered me to return it into the ſcabbard, and caſt it on the ground as gently as I could, about ſix feet from the end of my chain. The next thing he demanded, was one of the hollow iron pillars; by which he meant my pocket-piſtols. I drew it out, and at his deſire, as well as I could, expreſſed to him the uſe of it; and charging only with powder, which by the cloſeneſs of my pouch happened to eſcape wetting in the ſea (an inconvenience againſt which all prudent mariners take ſpecial care to provide) I firſt cautioned the Emperor not to be afraid, and then I let it off in the air. The aſtoniſhment here was much greater than at the ſight of my ſcymiter. Hundreds fell down, as if they had been ſtruck dead; and even the Emperor, although he ſtood his ground, could not recover himſelf in ſome time. I delivered up both my piſtols in the ſame manner, as I had done my ſcymiter, and then my pouch of powder and bullets; begging him that the former might be kept from fire, for it would kindle with the ſmalleſt ſpark, and blow up his imperial palace into the air. I likewiſe delivered up my watch, which the Emperor

* He who does not find himſelf diſpoſed to honour this magnanimity ſhould reflect, that a right to judge of moral and intellectual excellence is, with great abſurdity and injuſtice, arrogated by him who admires, in a being ſix feet high, any qualities that he deſpiſes in one, whoſe ſtature does not exceed ſix inches.

was

was very curious to ſee, and commanded two of his talleſt yeomen of the guards, to bear it on a pole upon their ſhoulders, as dry-men in England do a barrel of ale. He was amazed at the continual noiſe it made, and the motion of the minute-hand, which he could eaſily diſcern; for their ſight are much more acute than ours: he asked the opinions of his learned men about it, which were various and remote, as the reader may well imagine without my repeating; although indeed I could not very perfectly underſtand them. I then gave up my ſilver and copper money, my purſe with nine large pieces of gold and ſome ſmaller ones; my knife and razor, my comb and ſilver ſnuff-box, my handkerchief and journal-book. My ſcymiter, piſtols, and pouch were conveyed in carriages to his Majeſty's ſtores; but the reſt of my goods were returned me.

I had, as I before obſerved, one private pocket, which eſcaped their ſearch, wherein there were a pair of ſpectacles (which I ſometimes uſe for the weakneſs of mine eyes) a pocket perſpective, and ſome other little conveniencies; which being of no conſequence to the emperor, I did not think myſelf bound in honour to diſcover, and I apprehended they might be loſt or ſpoiled, if I ventured them out of my poſſeſſion.

CHAP. III.

The author diverts the Emperor and his nobility of both sexes in a very uncommon manner. The diversions of the court of Lilliput described. The author hath his liberty granted him upon certain conditions.

MY gentleness and good behaviour had gained so far on the emperor and his court, and indeed upon the army, and people in general, that I began to conceive hopes of getting my liberty in a short time. I took all possible methods to cultivate this favourable disposition. The natives came by degrees to be less apprehensive of any danger from me. I would sometimes lie down, and let five or six of them dance on my hand: and at last the boys and girls would venture to come and play at hide and seek in my hair. I had now made a good progress in understanding and speaking their language. The Emperor had a-mind one day to entertain me with several of the country shows, wherein they exceed all nations I have known, both for dexterity and magnificence. I was diverted with none so much, as that of the rope-dancers, performed upon a slender white-thread, extended about two feet and twelve inches from the ground. Upon which I shall desire liberty, with the reader's patience, to enlarge a little.

This diversion is only practised by those persons, who are candidates for great employments, and high favour at court. They are trained in this art from their youth, and are not always of noble birth, or liberal education. When a great office is vacant either by death or disgrace, (which often happens) five or six of those candidates petition the Emperor to entertain his majesty and the court with a

a dance on the rope, and whoever jumps the higheſt without falling, ſucceeds in the office. Very often the chief miniſters themſelves are commanded to ſhew their ſkill, and to convince the Emperor, that they have not loſt their faculty. Flimnap, the treaſurer, is allowed to cut a caper on the ſtrait rope at leaſt an inch higher, than any other lord in the whole empire. I have ſeen him do the ſummerſet * ſeveral times together upon a trencher, fixed on a rope, which is no thicker than a common packthread in England. My friend Reldreſal, principal ſecretary for private affairs, is, in my opinion, if I am not partial, the ſecond after the treaſurer; the reſt of the great officers are much upon a par.

Theſe diverſions are often attended with fatal accidents, whereof great numbers are on record. I myſelf have ſeen two or three candidates break a limb. But the danger is much greater when the miniſters themſelves are commanded to ſhew their dexterity; for by contending to excell themſelves and their fellows, they ſtrain ſo far, that there is hardly one of them who hath not received a fall, and ſome of them two or three. I was aſſured, that a year or two before my arrival, Flimnap would infallibly have broke his neck, if one of the king's cuſhions, that accidentally lay on the ground, had not weakened the force of his fall.

There is likewiſe another diverſion, which is only ſhewn before the Emperor and Empreſs, and firſt miniſter upon particular occaſions. The Emperor lays on the table three fine ſilken threads of ſix inches long; one it blue, the other red, and the third green. Theſe threads are propoſed as a prize for thoſe perſons, whom the Emperor hath a-mind

* Summerſet, or ſummerſault, a gambol of a tumbler, in which he ſprings up, turns heel over head in the air, and comes down upon his feet.

to distinguish by a peculiar mark of his favour. The ceremony is performed in his Majesty's great chamber of state, where the candidates are to undergo a trial of dexterity very different from the former, and such as I have not observed the least resemblance of in any other country of the old or new world. The Emperor holds a stick in his hands, both ends parallel to the horizon, while the candidates advancing, one by one, sometimes leap over the stick, sometimes creep under it, backwards and forwards several times, according as the stick is advanced or depressed. Sometimes the Emperor holds one end of the stick, and his first minister the other; sometimes the minister has it entirely to himself. Whoever performs his part with the most agility, and holds out the longest in leaping and creeping is rewarded with the blue-coloured silk; the red is given to the next, and the green to the third, which they all wear girt twice round about the middle; and you see few great persons about this court, who are not adorned with one of these girdles.

The horses of the army, and those of the royal stables, having been daily led before me, were no longer shy, but would come up to my very feet without starting. The riders would leap them over my hand, as I held it on the ground; and one of the Emperor's huntsmen, upon a large courser took my foot, shoe and all; which was indeed a prodigious leap. I had the good fortune to divert the Emperor one day after a very extraordinary manner. I desired he would order several sticks of two feet high, and the thickness of an ordinary cane, to be brought me; whereupon his Majesty commanded the master of his woods to give directions accordingly, and the next morning six woodmen arrived with as many carriages, drawn by eight horses to each. I took nine of these sticks, and fixing them firmly in the ground in a quadrangular figure, two feet

feet and a half ſqure, I took four other ſticks, and tied them parallel at each corner about two feet from the ground; then I faſtened my handkerchief to the nine ſticks that ſtood erect; and extended it on all ſides, till it was tight as the top of a drum: and the four parallel ſticks, riſing about five inches higher than the handkerchief, ſerved as ledges on each ſide. When I had finiſhed my work, I deſired the Emperor to let a troop of his beſt horſe, twenty-four in number, come and exerciſe upon this plain. His Majeſty approved of the propoſal, and I took them up one by one in my hands ready mounted and armed, with the proper officers to exerciſe them. As ſoon as they got into order, they divided into two parties, performed mock ſkirmiſhes, diſcharged blunt arrows, drew their ſwords, fled, and purſued, attacked and retired, and in ſhort, diſcovered the beſt military diſcipline I ever beheld. The parallel ſticks ſecured them and their horſes from falling over the ſtage; and the Emperor was ſo much delighted, that he ordered this entertainment to be repeated ſeveral days, and once was pleaſed to be lifted up, and give the word of command: and, with great difficulty, perſuaded even the Empreſs herſelf to let me hold her in her cloſe chair within two yards of the ſtage, from whence ſhe was able to take a full view of the whole performance. It was my good fortune, that no ill accident happened in theſe entertainments, only once a fiery horſe, that belonged to one of the captains, pawing with his hoof, ſtruck a hole in my handkerchief, and his foot ſlipping, he overthrew his rider and himſelf; but I immediately relieved them both, and covering the hole with one hand, I ſet down the troop with the other, in the ſame manner as I took them up. The horſe that fell was ſtrained in the left ſhoulder, but the rider got no hurt, and I repaired my handkerchief as well as I could; however, I would not truſt to the ſtrength

ſtrength of it any more in ſuch dangerous enterprizes.

About two or three days before I was ſet at liberty, as I was entertaining the court with this kind of feats, there arrived an expreſs to inform his majeſty, that ſome of his ſubjects, riding near the place where I was firſt taken up, had ſeen a great black ſubſtance lying on the ground, very oddly ſhaped, extending its edges round as wide as his Majeſty's bed-chamber, and riſing up in the middle as high as a man; that it was no living creature, as they at firſt apprehended, for it lay on the graſs without motion; and ſome of them had walked round it ſeveral times; that, by mounting upon each other's ſhoulders, they had got to the top, which was flat and even, and ſtamping upon it, they found it was hollow within; that they humbly conceived it might be ſomething belonging to the *man-mountain*; and if his Majeſty pleaſed, they would undertake to bring it only with five horſes. I preſently knew what they meant, and was glad at heart to receive this intelligence. It ſeems, upon my firſt reaching the ſhore after our ſhipwreck I was in ſuch confuſion, that, before I came to the place where I went to ſleep, my hat, which I had faſtened with a ſtring to my head while I was rowing, and had ſtuck on all the time I was ſwimming, fell off after I came to land; the ſtring, as I conjecture, breaking by ſome accident, which I never obſerved, but thought my hat had been loſt at ſea. I intreated his imperial Majeſty to give orders, it might be brought to me as ſoon as poſſible, deſcribing to him the uſe and the nature of it; and the next day the waggoner arrived with it, but not in a very good condition; they had bored two holes in the brim within an inch and half of the edge, and faſtened two hooks in the holes; theſe hooks were tied by a long cord to the harneſs, and thus my hat was dragged along for above half an Engliſh mile; but, the ground

ground in that country being extremely ſmooth and level, it received leſs damage than I expected.

Two days after this adventure, the Emperor having ordered that part of his army, which quarters in and about his metropolis, to be in a readineſs, took a fancy of diverting himſelf in a very ſingular manner. He deſired I would ſtand like a Coloſſus, with my legs as far aſunder as I conveniently could. He then commanded his general (who was an old experienced leader, and a great patron of mine) to draw up the troops in cloſe order, and march them under me; the foot by twenty-four in a breaſt, and the horſe by ſixteen, with drums beating, colours flying, and pikes advanced. This body conſiſted of three thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe. His Majeſty gave orders, upon pain of death, that every ſoldier in his march ſhould obſerve the ſtricteſt decency, with regard to my perſon; which, however, could not prevent ſome of the younger officers from turning up their eyes, as they paſſed under me: and, to confeſs the truth, my breeches were at that time in ſo ill a condition, that they afforded ſome opportunities for laughter and admiration.

I had ſent ſo many memorials and petitions for my liberty, that his Majeſty at length mentioned the matter firſt in the cabinet, and then a full council; where it was oppoſed by none, except Skyreſh Bolgolam, who was pleaſed, without any provocation, to be my mortal enemy. But it was carried againſt him by the whole board, and confirmed by the Emperor. That miniſter was *galbet*, or admiral of the realm, very much in his maſter's confidence, and a perſon well verſed in affairs, but of a moroſe and ſour complexion. However, he was at length perſuaded to comply; but prevailed that the articles and conditions upon which I ſhould be ſet free, and to which I muſt ſwear, ſhould be drawn up by himſelf. Theſe articles were brought

to

to me by Skyresh Bolgolam in person, attended by two under-secretaries, and several persons of distinction. After they were read, I was demanded to swear to the performance of them; first in the manner of my own country, and afterwards in the method prescribed by their laws, which was to hold my right foot in my left hand, and to place the middle finger of my right hand on the crown of my head, and thumb on the tip of my right ear. But because the reader may be curious to have some idea of the style and manner of expression peculiar to that people, as well as to know the articles upon which I recovered my liberty, I have made a translation of the whole instrument, word for word, as near as I was able, which I here offer to the public.

Golbasto Momaren Evlame Gurdilo Shefin Mully Ully Gue, most mighty Emperor of Lilliput, delight and terror of the universe, whose dominions extend five thousand *blustrugs* (about twelve miles in circumference) to the extremities of the globe; monarch of all monarchs, taller than the sons of men; whose feet press down to the centre, and whose head strikes against the sun; at whose nod the princes of the earth shake their knees; pleasant as the spring, comfortable as the summer, fruitful as autumn, dreadful as winter. His most sublime Majesty proposeth to the *man-mountain*, lately arrived at our celestial dominions, the following articles, which by a solemn oath he shall be obliged to perform.

1*st*, The *man-mountain* shall not depart from our dominions, without our licence under our great seal.

2*d*, He shall not presume to come into our metropolis without our express order; at which time the inhabitants shall have two hours warning to keep within doors.

3*d*, The said *man-mountain* shall confine his walks

walks to our principal high-roads, and not offer to walk or lie down in a meadow or field of corn.

4th, As he walks the said roads, he shall take the utmost care not to trample upon the bodies of any of our loving subjects, their horses, or carriages, nor take any of our subjects into his hands without their own consent.

5th, If an express requires extraordinary dispatch, the *man-mountain* shall be obliged to carry in his pocket the messenger and horse a six days journey once in every moon, and return the said messenger back (if so required) safe to our Imperial presence.

6th, He shall be our ally against our enemies in the island of Blefuscu *, and do his utmost to destroy their fleet, which is now preparing to invade us.

7th, That the said *man-mountain* shall, at his times of leisure, be aiding and assisting to our workmen, in helping to raise certain great stones, towards covering the wall of the principal park, and other our royal buildings.

8th, That the said *man-mountain* shall, in two moons time, deliver in an exact survey of the circumference of our dominions, by a computation of his own paces round the coast.

Lastly, That upon his solemn oath to observe all the above articles, the said *man-mountain* shall have a daily allowance of meat and drink sufficient for the support of 1724 of our subjects, with free access to our royal person, and other marks of our favour. Given at our palace at Belfaborac, the twelfth day of the ninety-first moon of our reign.

* In his description of Lilliput, the author seems to have had England more immediately in view. In his description of Blefuscu he seems to intend the people and kingdom of France. Yet the allegory between these nations is frequently interrupted, and scarce any where complete. Several just strokes of satire are scattered here and there upon errors in the conduct of our government. *Orrery.*

I swore

I ſwore and ſubſcribed to theſe articles with great chearfulneſs and content, although ſome of them were not ſo honourable as I could have wiſhed; which proceeded wholly from the malice of Skyreſh Bolgolam, the high-admiral; whereupon my chains were immediately unlocked, and I was at full liberty. The Emperor himſelf, in perſon, did me the honour to be by at the whole ceremony. I made my acknowledgments by proſtrating myſelf at his Majeſty's feet: but he commanded me to riſe; and after many gracious expreſſions, which, to avoid the cenſure of vanity, I ſhall not repeat; he added, that he hoped I ſhould prove a uſeful ſervant, and well deſerve all the favours he had already conferred upon me, or might do for the future.

The reader may pleaſe to obſerve, that, in the laſt article for the recovery of my liberty, the Emperor ſtipulates to allow me a quantity of meat and drink ſufficient for the ſupport of 1724 Lilliputians. Some time after, aſking a friend at court, how they came to fix on that determinate number; he told me, that his mathematicians having taken the height of my body by the help of a quadrant, and finding it to exceed theirs in the proportion of twelve to one, they concluded, from the ſimilarity of their bodies, that mine muſt contain at leaſt 1724 of theirs, and conſequently would require as much food as was neceſſary to ſupport that number of Lilliputians. By which the reader may conceive an idea of the ingenuity of that people, as well as the prudent and exact œconomy of ſo great a prince.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Mildendo, the metropolis of Lilliput, described. together with the Emperor's palace. A conversation between the author and a principal secretary, concerning the affairs of that empire. The author's offers to serve the Emperor in his wars.

THE first request I made, after I had obtained my liberty, was, that I might have licence to see Mildendo, the metropolis; which the Emperor easily granted me, but with a special charge to do no hurt either to the inhabitants or their houses. The people had notice by proclamation, of my design to visit the town. The wall, which encompassed it, is two feet and a half high, and at least eleven inches broad, so that a coach and horses may be driven very safely round it; and it is flanked with strong towers at ten feet distance. I stept over the great western gate, and passed very gently and sideling, through the two principal streets, only in my short waistcoat, for fear of damaging the roofs and eaves of the houses with the skirts of my coat. I walked with the utmost circumspection to avoid treading on any stragglers, who might remain in the streets; although the orders were very strict, that all people should keep in their houses at their own peril. The garret-windows and tops of houses were so crowded with spectators, that I thought in all my travels I had not seen a more populous place The city is an exact square, each side of the wall being five hundred feet long. The two great streets, which run cross and divide it into four quarters, are five feet wide. The lanes and alleys, which I could not enter, but

only viewed them as I paſſed, are from twelve to eighteen inches. The town is capable of holding five hundred thouſand ſouls: the houſes are from three to five ſtories: the ſhops and markets well provided.

The Emperor's palace is in the centre of the city, where the two great ſtreets meet. It is incloſed by a wall of two feet high, and twenty feet diſtance from the buildings. I had his Majeſty's permiſſion to ſtep over this wall; and the ſpace being ſo wide between that and the palace, I could eaſily view it on every ſide. The outward court is a ſquare of forty feet, and includes two other courts; in the inmoſt are the royal apartments, which I was very deſirous to ſee, but found it extremely difficult; for the great gates, from one ſquare into another, were but eighteen inches high, and ſeven inches wide. Now the buildings of the outer court were at leaſt five feet high, and it was impoſſible for me to ſtride over them without infinite damage to the pile, tho' the walls were ſtrongly built of hewn ſtone, and four inches thick. At the ſame time the Emperor had a great deſire, that I ſhould ſee the magnificence of his palace; but this I was not able to do till three days after, which I ſpent in cutting down with my knife ſome of the largeſt trees in the royal park, about an hundred yards diſtance from the city. Of theſe trees I made two ſtools, each about three feet high, and ſtrong enough to bear my weight. The people having received notice a ſecond time, I went again through the city to the palace, with my two ſtools in my hands. When I came to the ſide of the outer court, I ſtood upon one ſtool, and took the other in my hand; this I lifted over the roof, and gently ſet it down on the ſpace between the firſt and the ſecond court, which was eight feet wide. I then ſtept over the building very conveniently from one ſtool to the other, and drew up the firſt after me with a hooked ſtick.

By

By this contrivance I got into the inmoſt court; and, lying down upon my ſide, I applied my face to the windows of the middle ſtories, which were left open on purpoſe, and diſcovered the moſt ſplendid apartments that can be imagined. There I ſaw the Empreſs and the young princes in their ſeveral lodgings with their chief attendants about them. Her imperial Majeſty was pleaſed to ſmile very graciouſly upon me, and gave me out of the window her hand to kiſs.

But I ſhall not anticipate the reader with farther deſcriptions of this kind, becauſe I reſerve them for a greater work, which is now almoſt ready for the preſs, containing a general deſcription of this empire, from its firſt erection thro' a long ſeries of princes, with a particular account of their wars and politics, laws, learning, and religion, their plants and animals, their peculiar manners and cuſtoms, with other matters very curious and uſeful; my chief deſign at preſent being only to relate ſuch events and tranſactions, as happened to the public or to my ſelf, during a reſidence of about nine months in that empire.

One morning, about a fortnight after I had obtained my liberty, Reldreſal, principal ſecretary (as they ſtile him) for private affairs, came to my houſe, attended only by one ſervant. He ordered his coach to wait at a diſtance, and deſired I would give him an hours audience: which I readily conſented to, on account of his quality and perſonal merits, as well as of the many good offices he had done me during my ſoliciations at court. I offered to lie down, that he might the more conveniently reach my ear; but he choſe rather to let me hold him in my hand during our converſation. He began with compliments on my liberty; ſaid, he might pretend to ſome merit in it: but however added, that, if it had not been for the preſent ſituation of things at court, perhaps I

might not have obtained it so soon. For, said he, as flourishing a condition as we appear to be in to foreigners, we labour under two mighty evils; a violent faction at home, and the danger of an invasion by a most potent enemy from abroad. As to the first, you are to understand, that, for above seventy moons past there have been two struggling parties in this empire, under the names of Tramecksan, and Slamecksan †, from the high and low heels of their shoes, by which they distinguish themselves. It is alledged indeed, that the high heels are most agreeable to our ancient constitution; but, however this be, his Majesty hath determined to make use only of low heels in the administration of the government, and all offices in the gift of the crown, as you cannot but observe; and particularly, that his Majesty's imperial heels are lower at least by a *drurr* than any of his court (*drurr* is a measure about the fourteenth part of an inch.) The animosities between these two parties run so high, that they will neither eat nor drink, nor talk with each other. We compute the Tramecksan, or high-heels, to exceed us in number; but the power is wholly on our side. We apprehend his imperial Highness, the heir to the crown, to have some tendency towards the high-heels; at least, we can plainly discover, that one of his heels is higher than the other, which gives him a noble in his gait. Now, in the midst of these intestine disquiets, we are threatened with an invasion from the island of Blefuscu, which is the other great empire of the universe, almost as large and powerful as this of his Majesty. For as to what we have heard

* High-Church and Low-Church, or Whig and Tory. As every accidental difference between man and man, in person and circumstances, is by this work rendered extremely contemptible; so speculative differences are shewn to be equally ridiculous, when the zeal, with which they are opposed and defended, too much exceeds their importance.

you

you affirm, that there are other kingdoms and ſtates in the world, inhabited by human creatures as large as yourſelf, our philoſophers are in much doubt, and would rather conjecture that you dropped from the moon, or one of the ſtars; becauſe it is certain, that an hundred mortals of your bulk, would in a ſhort time deſtroy all the fruits and cattle of his Majeſty's dominions: beſides, our hiſtories of ſix thouſand moons make no mention of any other regions, than the two great empires of Lilliput and Blefuſcu. Which two mighty powers have, as I was going to tell you, been engaged in a moſt obſtinate war for ſix and thirty moons paſt. It began upon the following occaſion: it is allowed on all hands, that the primitive way of breaking eggs, before we eat them, was upon the larger end; but his preſent Majeſty's grandfather, while he was a boy, going to eat an egg, and breaking it according to the ancient practice, happened to cut one of his fingers. Whereupon the Emperor, his father, publiſhed an edict, commanding all his ſubjects, upon great penalties, to break the ſmaller end of their eggs. The people ſo highly reſented this law, that our hiſtories tell us, there have been ſix rebellions raiſed on that account, wherein one Emperor loſt his life, and another his crown. Theſe civil commotions were conſtantly fomented by the monarchs of Blefuſcu; and when they were quelled, the exiles always fled for refuge to that empire. It is computed that eleven thouſand perſons have at ſeveral times ſuffered death, rather than ſubmit to break their eggs at the ſmaller end. Many hundred large volumes have been publiſhed upon this controverſy; but the books of the Big-endians have been long forbidden, and the whole party rendered incapable by law of holding employments. During the courſe of theſe troubles, the Emperors of Blefuſcu did frequently expoſtulate by their ambaſſadors, accuſing

cuſing us of making a ſchiſm in religion, by offending againſt a fundamental doctrine of our great prophet Luſtrog, in the fifty-fourth chapter of the Blundecral (which is their Alcoran.) This however is thought to be a mere ſtrain upon the text; for the words are theſe: *That all true believers break their eggs at the convenient end.* And which is the convenient end, ſeems in my humble opinion to be left to every man's conſcience, or at leaſt in the power of the chief magiſtrate to determine. Now, the Big-endian exiles have found ſo much credit in the Emperor of Blefuſcu's court, and ſo much private aſſiſtance and encouragement from their party here at home, that a bloody war hath been carried on between the two empires for ſix and thirty moons, with various ſucceſs; during which time we have loſt forty capital ſhips, and a much greater number of ſmaller veſſels, together with thirty thouſand of our beſt ſeamen and ſoldiers; and the damage received by the enemy is reckoned to be ſomewhat greater than ours. However, they have now equipped a numerous fleet, and are juſt preparing to make a deſcent upon us: and his imperial Majeſty, placing great confidence in your valour and ſtrength, hath commanded me to lay this account of his affairs before you.

I deſired the ſecretary to preſent my humble duty to the Emperor, and to let him know, that I thought it would not become me, who was a foreigner, to interfere with parties; but I was ready, with the hazard of my life, to defend his perſon and ſtate againſt all invaders *.

* Gulliver, without examining the ſubject of diſpute, readily engaged to defend the Emperor againſt invaſion, becauſe he knew, that no ſuch monarch had a right to invade the dominions of another, though for the propagation of truth.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The author, by an extraordinary ſtratagem, prevents an invaſion. A high title of honour is conferred upon him. Ambaſſadors arrive from the Emperor of Blefuſcu, and ſue for peace. The Empreſs's apartment on fire by an accident; the author inſtrumental in ſaving the reſt of the palace.

THE empire of Blefuſcu is an iſland, ſituated to the north-eaſt ſide of Lilliput, from whence it is parted only by a channel of eight hundred yards wide. I had not yet ſeen it, and upon this notice of an intended invaſion, I avoided appearing on that ſide of the coaſt, for fear of being diſcovered by ſome of the enemy's ſhips, who had received no intelligence of me, all intercourſe between the two empires having been ſtrictly forbidden during the war, upon pain of death, and an embargo laid by our Emperor upon all veſſels whatſoever. I communicated to his Majeſty a project I had formed of ſeizing the enemy's whole fleet; which, as our ſcouts aſſured us, lay at anchor in the harbour ready to ſail with the firſt fair wind. I conſulted the moſt experienced ſeamen upon the depth of the channel, which they had often plummed; who told me, that in the middle, at high-water, it was ſeventy *glumgluffs* deep, which is about ſix feet of European meaſure; and the reſt of it fifty *glumgluffs* at moſt. I walked to the north-eaſt coaſt, over againſt Blefuſcu; where, lying down behind a hillock, I took out my ſmall perſpective-glaſs, and viewed the enemy's fleet at anchor, conſiſting of about fifty men of war, and a great number of tranſports: I then came back to my houſe, and gave orders (for which I had

I had a warrant) for a great quantity of the ſtrongeſt cable and bars of iron. The cable was about as thick as pack thread, and the bars of the length and ſize of a knitting needle. I trebled the cable to make it ſtronger, and for the ſame reaſon I twiſted three of the iron bars together, bending the extremeties into a book. Having thus fixed fifty hooks to as many cables, I went back to the north-eaſt coaſt, and putting off my coat, ſhoes, and ſtockings, walked into the ſea in my leathern jerkin, about half an hour before high-water. I waded with what haſte I could, and ſwam in the middle about thirty yards, till I felt ground; I arrived at the fleet in leſs than half an hour. The enemy was ſo frighted, when they ſaw me, that they leaped out of their ſhips and ſwam to ſhore, where they could not be fewer than thirty thouſand ſouls: I then took my tackling, and, faſtening a hook to the hole at the prow of each, I tied all the cords together at the end. While I was thus employed, the enemy diſcharged ſeveral thouſand arrows, many of which ſtuck in my hands and face; and, beſides the exceſſive ſmart, gave me much diſturbance in my work. My greateſt apprehenſion was for mine eyes, which I ſhould have infallibly loſt, if I had not ſuddenly thought of an expedient. I kept, among other little neceſſaries, a pair of ſpectacles in a private pocket, which, as I obſerved before, had eſcaped the Emperor's ſearchers. Theſe I took out, and faſtened as ſtrongly as I could upon my noſe, and thus armed, went on boldly with my work, in ſpight of the enemy's arrows, many of which ſtruck againſt the glaſſes of my ſpectacles, but without any other effect, farther than a little to diſcompoſe them. I had now faſtened all the hooks, and taking the knot in my hand, began to pull; but not a ſhip would ſtir, for they were all too faſt held by their anchors, ſo that the boldeſt part of my enterpriſe

priſe remained. I therefore let go the cord, and leaving the hooks fixed to the ſhips, I reſolutely cut with my knife the cables that faſtened the anchors, receiving above two hundred ſhots in my face and hands; then I took up the knotted end of the cables, to which my hooks were tied, and with great eaſe drew fifty of the enemy's largeſt men of war after me.

The Blefuſcudians, who had not the leaſt imagination of what I intended, were at firſt confounded with aſtoniſhment. They had ſeen me cut the cables, and thought my deſign was only to let the ſhips run a-drift, or fall foul on each other: but when they perceived the whole fleet moving in order, and ſaw me pulling at the end, they ſet up ſuch a ſcream of grief and deſpair, as it is almoſt impoſſible to deſcribe or conceive. When I had got out of danger, I ſtopt a while to pick out the arrows that ſtuck in my hands and face; and rubbed on ſome of the ſame ointment that was given me at my firſt arrival, as I have formerly mentioned. I then took off my ſpectacles, and waiting about an hour, till the tide was a little fallen, I waded through the middle with my cargo, and arrived ſafe at the royal port of Lilliput.

The Emperor and his whole court ſtood on the ſhore, expecting the iſſue of this great adventure. They ſaw the ſhips move forward in a large half-moon, but could not diſcern me, who was up to my breaſt. When I advanced to the middle of the channel, they were yet more in pain, becauſe I was under water to my neck. The Emperor concluded me to be drowned, and that the enemy's fleet was approaching in an hoſtile manner: but he was ſoon eaſed of his fears, for the channel growing ſhallower every ſtep I made, I came in a ſhort time within hearing, and holding up the end of the cable, by which the fleet was faſtened, I cried in a loud voice, *Long live the moſt puiſſant Emperor of Lilliput!*

Lilliput! this great prince received me at my landing with all poſſible encomiums, and created me a Nardac upon the ſpot, which is the higheſt title of honour among them.

His majeſty deſired, I would take ſome other opportunity of bringing all the reſt of his enemy's ſhips into his ports. And ſo unmeaſurable is the ambition of princes, that he ſeemed to think of nothing leſs than reducing the whole empire of Blefuſcu into a province, and governing it by a vice-roy; of deſtroying the Big-endian exiles, and compelling that people to break the ſmaller end of their eggs, by which he would remain the ſole monarch of the whole world. But I endeavoured to divert him from this deſign, by many arguments drawn from the topics of policy as well as juſtice: and I plainly proteſted, that I would never be an inſtrument of bringing a free and brave people into ſlavery. And, when the matter was debated in council, the wiſeſt part of the miniſtry were of my opinion.

This open bold declaration of mine was ſo oppoſite to the ſchemes and politics of his imperial majeſty, that he could never forgive me; he mentioned it in a very artful manner at council, where I was told that ſome of the wiſeſt appeared, at leaſt by their ſilence, to be of my opinion; but others, who were my ſecret enemies, could not forbear ſome expreſſions, which by a ſide-wind reflected on me. And from this time began an intrigue between his majeſty and a junto of miniſters maliciouſly bent againſt me, which broke out in leſs than two months, and had like to have ended in my utter deſtruction. Of ſo little weight are the greateſt ſervices to princes, when put into the balance with a refuſal to gratify their paſſions.

About three weeks after this exploit, there arrived a ſolemn embaſſy from Blefuſcu, with humble offers of a peace; which was ſoon concluded upon.

on conditions very advantageous to our Emperor, wherewith I ſhall not trouble the reader. There were ſix ambaſſadors, with a train of about five hundred perſons; and their entry was very magnificent, ſuitable to the grandeur of their maſter, and the importance of their buſineſs. When their treaty was finiſhed, wherein I did them ſeveral good offices by the credit I now had, or at leaſt appeared to have at court, their excellencies, who were privately told how much I had been their friend, made me a viſit in form. They began with many compliments upon my valour and generoſity, invited me to that kingdom in the Emperor their maſter's name, and deſired me to ſhew them ſome proofs of my prodigious ſtrength, of which they had heard ſo many wonders; wherein I readily obliged them, but ſhall not trouble the reader with the particulars.

When I had for ſome time entertained their excellencies to their infinite ſatisfaction and ſurpriſe, I deſired they would do me the honour to preſent my moſt humble reſpects to the Emperor their maſter, the renown of whoſe virtues had ſo juſtly filled the whole world with admiration, and whoſe royal perſon I reſolved to attend before I returned to my own country: accordingly, the next time I had the honour to ſee our Emperor, I deſired his general licence to wait on the Blefuſcudian monarch, which he was pleaſed to grant me, as I could plainly perceive, in a very cold manner; but could not gueſs the reaſon, till I had a whiſper from a certain perſon, that Flimnap and Bolgolam had repreſented my intercourſe with thoſe ambaſſadors as a mark of diſaffection, from which I am ſure my heart was wholly free. And this was the firſt time I began to conceive ſome imperfect idea of courts and miniſters.

It is to be obſerved, that theſe ambaſſadors ſpoke to me by an interpreter, the languages of both empires

pires differing as much from each other as any two in Europe, and each nation priding itſelf upon the antiquity, beauty, and energy of their own tongues, with an avowed contempt for that of their neighbour; yet our Emperor, ſtanding upon the advantage he had got by the ſeizure of their fleet, obliged them to deliver their credentials, and make their ſpeech in the Lilliputian tongue. And it muſt be confeſſed, that from the great intercourſe of trade and commerce between both realms, from the continual reception of exiles, which is mutual among them, and from the cuſtom in each empire, to ſend their young nobility and richer gentry to the other, in order to poliſh themſelves by ſeeing the world, and underſtanding men and manners; there are few perſons of diſtinction, or merchants, or ſeamen, who dwell in the maritime parts, but what can hold converſation in both tongues; as I found ſome weeks after, when I went to pay my reſpects to the Emperor of Blefuſcu, which in the midſt of great misfortunes, through the malice of my enemies, proved a very happy adventure to me, as I ſhall relate in its proper place.

The reader may remember, that when I ſigned thoſe articles upon which I recovered my liberty, there were ſome which I diſliked, upon account of their being too ſervile, neither could any thing but an extreme neceſſity have forced me to ſubmit. But being now a Nardac of the higheſt rank in that empire, ſuch offices were looked upon as below my dignity, and the Emperor (to do him juſtice) never once mentioned them to me. However, it was not long before I had an opportunity of doing his majeſty, at leaſt as I then thought, a moſt ſignal ſervice. I was alarmed at midnight with the cries of many hundred people at my door; by which being ſuddenly awaked, I was in ſome kind of terror. I heard the word Burglum repeated inceſſantly: ſeveral of the Emperor's court, making their way through

through the croud, intreated me to come immediately to the palace, where her imperial majesty's apartment was on fire, by the carelesness of a maid of honour, who fell asleep while she was reading a romance. I got up in an instant; and orders being given to clear the way before me, and it being likewise a moonshine night, I made a shift to get to the palace without trampling on any of the people. I found they had already applied ladders to the walls of the apartment, and were well provided with buckets, but the water was at some distance. These buckets were about the size of a large thimble, and the poor people supplied me with them as fast as they could: but the flame was so violent, that they did little good. I might easily have stifled it with my coat, which I unfortunately left behind me for haste, and came away only in my leathern jerkin. The case seemed wholly desperate and deplorable, and this magnificent palace would have infallibly been burnt down to the ground, if, by a presence of mind unusual to me, I had not thought of an expedient. I had, the evening before, drank plentifully of a most delicious wine, called Glimigrim, (the Blefuscudians call it Flonec, but ours is esteemed the better sort), which is very diuretic. By the luckiest chance in the world I had not discharged myself of any part of it. The heat I had contracted by coming very near the flames, and by my labouring to quench them, made the wine begin to operate by urine; which I voided in such a quantity, and applied so well to the proper places, that in three minutes the fire was wholly extinguished, and the rest of that noble pile, which had cost so many ages in erecting, preserved from destruction.

It was now day-light, and I returned to my house without waiting to congratulate with the Emperor: because, although I had done a very eminent piece of service, yet I could not tell how his

Majesty might resent the manner, by which I had performed it: for, by the fundamental laws of the realm, it is capital in any person, of what quality soever, to make water within the precincts of the palace. But I was a little comforted by a message from his Majesty, that he would give orders to the grand justiciary for passing my pardon in form; which however I could not obtain And I was privately assured, that the Empress, conceiving the greatest abhorrence of what I had done, removed to the most distant side of the court, firmly resolved that those buildings should never be repaired for her use; and, in the presence of her chief confidents, could not forbear vowing revenge.

CHAP. VI.

Of the inhabitants of Lilliput; their learning, laws, and customs; the manner of educating their children. The author's way of living in that country. His vindication of a great lady.

ALTHOUGH I intend to leave the description of this empire to a particular treatise, yet in the mean time I am content to gratify the curious reader with some general ideas. As the common size of the natives is somewhat under six inches high, so there is an exact proportion in all other animals, as well as plants and trees: for instance, the tallest horses and oxen are between four and five inches in height, the sheep an inch and half, more or less; the geese about the bigness of a sparrow, and so the several gradations downwards, till you come to the smallest, which to my sight were almost invisible; but nature hath adapted the eyes of the Lilliputians to all objects proper for their view:

view: they see with great exactness, but at no great distance. And, to shew the sharpness of their sight towards objects that are near, I have been much pleased with observing a cook pulling a lark, which was not so large as a common fly; and a young girl threading an invisible needle with invisible silk. Their tallest trees are about seven feet high: I mean some of those in the great royal park, the tops whereof I could but just reach with my fist clenched. The other vegetables are in the same proportion; but this I leave to the reader's imagination.

I shall say but little at present of their learning, which for many ages hath flourished in all its branches among them: but their manner of writing is very peculiar, being neither from the left to the right, like the Europeans; nor from the right to the left, like the Arabians; nor from up to down, like the Chinese; but aslant from one corner of the paper to the other, like ladies in England.

They bury their dead with their heads directly downwards, because they hold an opinion, that in eleven thousand moons they are all to rise again, in which period the earth (which they conceive to be flat) will turn upside down, and by this means they shall, at their resurrection, be found ready standing on their feet *. The learned among them confess the absurdity of this doctrine, but the

* Here the author dares even to exert his vein of humour so liberally, as to place the resurrection, one of the most encouraging principles of the Christian religion, in a ridiculous and contemptible light. Why should that appointment be denied to man or appear so very extraordinary in the human kind, which the Author of nature has illustrated in the vegetable species, where the seed dies and corrupts, before it can rise again to new beauty and glory? *Orrery.*

practice ſtill continues in compliance to the vulgar †.

There are ſome laws and cuſtoms in this empire very peculiar; and if they were not ſo directly contrary to thoſe of my own dear country, I ſhould be tempted to ſay a little in their juſtification. It is only to he wiſhed they were as well executed. The firſt I ſhall mention, relates to informers. All crimes againſt the ſtate are puniſhed here with the utmoſt ſeverity; but if the perſon accuſed maketh his innocence plainly to appear upon his trial, the accuſer is immediately put to an ignominious death; and out of his goods or lands, the innocent perſon is quadruply recompenſed for the loſs of his time, for the danger he underwent, for the hardſhip of his impriſonment, and for all the charges he hath been in at making his defence. Or if that fund be deficient, it is largely ſupplied by the crown. The Emperor alſo confers on him ſome public mark of his favour, and proclamation is made of his innocence through the whole city.

They look upon fraud as a greater crime than theft, and therefore ſeldom fail to puniſh it with

† This paragraph, if it were examined with judgement and candour, would incline us to believe, that an opinion of a life to come is connected ſo immediately with all our reaſoning faculties, that, ſuppoſing we had never been bleſſed with any revelation from God, we ſhould believe the reſurrection to life eternal. The Lilliputians believe, that, after eleven thouſand moons, the earth will be turned upſide down; and upon that account they are buried with their heads directly downward, in order to be found ſtanding upon their feet at the day of reſurrection: An opinion, which I confeſs, with the learned among themſelves, to be whimſical and ridiculous enough. But follies and abſurdities are always mixed with idolatry and ſuperſtition. The Lilliputians were rank idolaters; otherwiſe how could they imagine Gulliver's watch to be the god that he worſhipped? And therefore I cannot but infer, that inſtead of placing the reſurrection in a ridiculous contemptible light, Gulliver hath fairly manifeſted the opinion of a ſtate hereafter (although connected with ſome vanities and abſurdities, which are the effects of ſuperſtition) to be the ground-work of all religion, founded upon the clear and ſtrong dictates, both of nature and reaſon. *Swift.*

death;

death; for they alledge, that care and vigilance, with a very common underſtanding, may preſerve a man's goods from thieves, but honeſty has no fence againſt ſuperior cunning; and ſince it is neceſſary that there ſhould be a perpetual intercourſe of buying and ſelling, and dealing upon credit; where fraud is permitted and connived at, or hath no law to puniſh it, the honeſt dealer is always undone, and the knave gets the advantage. I remember, when I was was once interceding with the king for a criminal, who had wronged his maſter of a great ſum of money, which he had received by order, and ran away with; and happening to tell his Majeſty, by way of extenuation, that it was only a breach of truſt; the Emperor thought it monſtrous in me to offer as a defence, the greateſt aggravation of the crime: and truly I had little to ſay in return, further than the common anſwer, that different nations had different cuſtoms; for, I confeſs, I was heartily aſhamed *.

Although we uſually call reward and puniſhment the two hinges, upon which all government turns, yet I could never obſerve this maxim to be put in practice by any nation, except that of Lilliput. Whoever can there bring ſufficient proof, that he hath ſtrictly obſerved the laws of his country for ſeventy-three moons, hath a claim to certain privileges, according to his quality and condition of life, with a proportionable ſum of money out of a fund appropriated for that uſe: he likewiſe acquires the title of *ſnillpall*, or *legal*, which is added to his name, but doth not deſcend to his poſterity. And theſe people thought it a prodigious defect of policy among us, when I told them, that our laws were enforced only by penalties, without any mention of reward. It is upon this account, that the image of juſtice in their courts of judicature is formed with

* An act of parliament hath been ſince paſſed, by which ſome breaches of truſt have been made capital.

ſix eyes, two before, as many behind, and on each ſide one, to ſignify circumſpection; with a bag of gold open in her right hand, and a ſword ſheathed in her left, to ſhew ſhe is more diſpoſed to reward than to puniſh.

In chooſing perſons for all employments, they have more regard to good morals than to great abilities; for, ſince government is neceſſary to mankind, they believe that the common ſize of human underſtandings is fitted to ſome ſtation or other, and that providence never intended to make the management of public affairs a myſtery, to be comprehended only by a few perſons of ſublime genius, of which there ſeldom are three born in an age; but they ſuppoſe truth, juſtice, temperance, and the like, to be in every man's power, the practice of of which virtues, aſſiſted by experience and a good intention, would qualify any man for the ſervice his country, except where a courſe of ſtudy is required. But they thought the want of moral virtues were ſo far from being ſupplied by ſuperior endowments of the mind, that employments could never be put into ſuch dangerous hands as thoſe of perſons ſo qualified; and at leaſt, that the miſtakes committed by ignorance in a virtuous diſpoſition, wou'd never be of ſuch fatal conſequence to the public weal, as the practices of a man whoſe inclinations led him to be corrupt, and who had great abilities to manage, to multiply, and defend his corruptions.

In like manner, the diſbelief of a divine providence renders a man uncapable of holding any public ſtation; for, ſince kings avow themſelves to be the deputies of providence, the Lilliputians think nothing can be more abſurd, than for a prince to employ ſuch men as diſown the authority under which he acteth.

In relating theſe and the following laws would only be underſtood to mean the original inſtitutions,

tions, and not the moſt ſcandalous corruptions, into which theſe people are fallen, by the degenerate nature of man. For as to that infamous practice of acquiring great employments by dancing on the ropes, or badges of favour and diſtinction by leaping over ſticks, and creeping under them, the reader is to obſerve, that they were firſt introduced by the grandfather of the Emperor, now reigning, and grew to the preſent height by the gradual increaſe of party and faction.

Ingratitude is among them a capital crime, as we read it to have been in ſome other countries; for they reaſon thus, that whoever makes ill returns to his benefactor, muſt needs be a common enemy to the reſt of mankind, from whom he hath received no obligation, and therefore ſuch a man is not fit to live.

Their notions relating to the duties of parents and children, differ extremely from ours. For, ſince the conjunction of male and female is founded upon the great law of nature, in order to propagate and continue the ſpecies, the Lilliputians will needs have it, that men and women are joined together like other animals, by the motives of concupiſcence; and that their tenderneſs towards their young, proceeds from the like natural principle: for which reaſon they will never allow, that a child is under any obligation to his father for begetting him, or to his mother for bringing him into the world, which, conſidering the miſeries of human life, was neither a benefit in itſelf, nor intended ſo by his parents, whoſe thoughts in their love-encounters were otherwiſe employed. Upon theſe, and the like reaſonings, their opinion is, that parents are the laſt of all others to be truſted with the education of their own children: and therefore they have in every town public nurſeries, where all parents, except cottagers and labourers, are obliged to ſend their infants of both ſexes to be reared and educated when they come

come to the age of twenty moons, at which time they are ſuppoſed to have ſome rudiments of docility. Theſe ſchools are of ſeveral kinds, ſuited to different qualities, and to both ſexes. They have certain profeſſors well ſkilled in preparing children for ſuch a condition of life as befits the rank of their parents, and their own capacities as well as inclinations. I ſhall firſt ſay ſomething of the male nurſeries, and then of the female.

The nurſeries for males of noble or eminent birth, are provided with grave and learned profeſſors, and their ſeveral deputies. The clothes and food of the children are plain and ſimple. They are bred up in the principles of honour, juſtice, courage, modeſty, clemency, religion and love of their country; they are always employed in ſome buſineſs, except in the times of eating and ſleeping, which are very ſhort, and two hours for diverſions, conſiſting of bodily exerciſes. They are dreſſed by men till four years of age, and then are obliged to dreſs themſelves, although their quality be ever ſo great; and the women attendants, who are aged proportionably to ours at fifty, perform only the moſt menial offices. They are never ſuffered to converſe with ſervants, but go together in ſmaller or greater numbers to take their diverſions, and always in the preſence of a profeſſor, or one of his deputies; whereby they avoid thoſe early bad impreſſions of folly and vice, to which our children are ſubject. Their parents are ſuffered to ſee them only twice a-year; the viſit is to laſt but an hour; they are allowed to kiſs the child at meeting and parting: but a profeſſor, who always ſtands by on thoſe occaſions, will not ſuffer them to whiſper, or uſe any fondling expreſſions, or bring any preſents of toys, ſweetmeats, and the like.

The penſion from each family for the education and entertainment of a child, upon failure of due payment, is levied by the Emperor's officers.

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The nurſeries for children of ordinary gentlemen, merchants, traders, and handicrafts, are managed proportionably after the ſame manner; only thoſe deſigned for trades are put out apprentices at eleven years old, whereas thoſe of perſons of quality continue their exerciſes till fifteeen, which anſwers to twenty-one with us: but the confinement is gradually leſſened for the laſt three years.

In the female nurſeries, the young girls of quality are educated much like the males, only they are dreſſed by orderly ſervants of their own ſex; but always in the preſence of a profeſſor or deputy, till they come to dreſs themſelves, which is at five years old. And if it be found, that theſe nurſes ever preſume to entertain the girls with frightful or fooliſh ſtories, or the common follies practiſed by chamber-maids among us, they are publicly whipped thrice about the city, impriſoned for a year, and baniſhed for life to the moſt deſolate part of the country. Thus the young ladies there are as much aſhamed of being cowards and fools, as the men, and deſpiſe all perſonal ornaments beyond decency and cleanlineſs: neither did I perceive any difference in their education, made by their difference of ſex, only that the exerciſes of the females were not altogether ſo robuſt; and that ſome rules were given them relating to domeſtic life, and a ſmaller compaſs of learning was enjoined them: for their maxim is, that among people of quality, a wife ſhould be always a reaſonable and agreeable companion, becauſe ſhe cannot always be young When the girls are twelve years old, which among them is the marriageable age, their parents or guardians take them home with great expreſſions of gratitude to the profeſſors, and ſeldom without tears of the young lady and her companions.

In the nurſeries of females of the meaner ſort, the children are inſtructed in all kinds of works proper for their ſex, and their ſeveral degrees; thoſe intended

tended for apprentices are diſmiſſed at ſeven years old, the reſt are kept to eleven.

The meaner families, who have children at theſe nurſeries, are obliged, beſides their annual penſion, which is as low as poſſible, to return to the ſteward of the nurſery, a ſmall monthly ſhare of their gettings, to be a portion for the child; and therefore all parents are limited in their expences by the law. For the Lilliputians think nothing can be more unjuſt, than for people, in ſubſervience to their own appetites, to bring children into the world, and leave the burden of ſupporting them on the public. As to perſons of quality, they give ſecurity to appropriate a certain ſum for each child, ſuitable to their condition; and theſe funds are always managed with good huſbandry, and the moſt exact juſtice.

The cottagers and labourers keep their children at home, their buſineſs being only to till and cultivate the earth, and therefore their education is of little conſequence to the public; but the old and diſeaſed among them are ſupported by hoſpitals: for begging is a trade unknown in this empire.

And here it may perhaps divert the curious reader to give ſome account of my domeſtics, and my manner of living in this country, during the reſidence of nine months and thirteen days. Having a head mechanically turned, and being likewiſe forced by neceſſity, I had made for myſelf a table and chair, convenient enough, out of the largeſt trees in the royal park. Two hundred ſempſtreſſes were employed to make me ſhirts, and linen for my bed and table, all of the ſtrongeſt and coarſeſt kinds they could get; which however they were forced to quilt together in ſeveral folds, for the thickeſt was ſome degrees finer than lawn. Their linen is uſually three inches wide, and three feet make a piece. The ſempſtreſſes took my meaſure as I lay on the ground, one ſtanding at my neck and

and another at my mid-leg, with a ſtrong cord extended, that each held by the end, while a third meaſured the length of the cord with a rule of an inch long. Then they meaſured my thumb, and deſired no more; for by a mathematical computation, that twice round the thumb is once round the wriſt, and ſo on to the neck and waiſt and by the help of my old ſhirt, which I diſplayed on the ground before them for a pattern, they fitted me exactly. Three hundred taylors were employed in the ſame manner to make my clothes; but they had another contrivance for taking my meaſure. I kneeled down, and they raiſed a ladder from the ground to my neck; upon this ladder one of them mounted, and let fall a plum-line from my collar to the floor, which juſt anſwered the length of my coat; but my waiſt and arms I meaſured myſelf. When my clothes were finiſhed, which was done in my houſe (for the largeſt of theirs would not have been able to hold them) they looked like the patchwork made by the ladies in England, only that mine were all of a colour.

I had three hundred cooks to dreſs my victuals in little convenient huts built about my houſe, where they and their families lived and prepared me two diſhes apiece. I took up twenty waiters in my hand, and placed them on the table; an hundred more attended below on the ground, ſome with diſhes of meat, and ſome with barrels of wine, and other liquors, ſlung on their ſhoulders; all which the waiters above drew up, as I wanted, in a very ingenious manner by certain cords, as we draw the bucket up a well, in Europe. A diſh of their meat was a good mouthful, and a barrel of their liquor a reaſonable draught. Their mutton yields to ours, but their beef is excellent. I have had a ſirloin ſo large, that I have been forced to make three bits of it; but this is rare. My ſervants were aſtoniſhed to ſee me eat it, bones and all, as in our country we do

do the leg of a lark. Their geese and turkies I usually eat at a mouthful, and I must confess, they far exceed ours. Of their smaller fowl I could take up twenty or thirty at the end of my knife.

One day his Imperial Majesty, being informed of my way of living, desired that himself and his royal consort, with the young princes of the blood of both sexes, might have the happiness (as he was pleased to call it) of dining with me. They came accordingly, and I placed them in chairs of state upon my table, just over against me, with their guards about them. Flimnap, the lord high treasurer, attended there likewise with his white staff; and I observed he often looked on me with a sour countenance, which I would not seem to regard, but eat more than usual, in honour to my dear country, as well as to fill the court with admiration. I have some private reasons to believe, that this visit from his Majesty gave Flimnap an opportunity of doing me ill offices to his master. That minister had always been my secret enemy, though he outwardly caressed more than was usual to the morosenes of his nature. He represented to the Emperor the low condition of his treasury; that he was forced to take up money at great discount; that exchequer bills would not circulate under nine *per cent.* below par; that I had cost his Majesty above a million and a half of sprugs (their greatest gold coin, about the bigness of a spangle), and upon the whole, that it would be advisable in the Emperor to take the first fair occasion of dismissing me.

I am here obliged to vindicate the reputation of an excellent lady, who was an innocent sufferer upon my account. The treasurer took a fancy to be jealous of his wife, from the malice of some evil tongues, who informed him that her grace had taken a violent affection for my person; and the court-scandal ran for some time, that she once came privately to my lodging. This I solemnly declare

to

to be a moſt infamous falſehood, without any grounds, further than that her grace was pleaſed to treat me with all innocent marks of freedom and friendſhip. I own ſhe came often to my houſe, but always publicly, nor ever without three more in the coach, who were uſually her ſiſter and young daughter, and ſome particular acquaintance; but this was common to many other ladies of the court. And I appeal to my ſervants round, whether they at any time ſaw a coach at my door, without knowing what perſons were in it. On theſe occaſions, when a ſervant had given me notice, my cuſtom was to go immediately to the door; and, after paying my reſpects, to take up the coach and two horſes very carefully in my hands (for, if there were ſix horſes, the poſtilion always unharneſſed four) and placed them on a table, where I had fixed a moveable rim, quite round, of five inches high, to prevent accidents. And I had often four coaches and horſes at on my table, full of company, while I ſat in my chair, leaning my face towards them; and, when I was engaged with one ſet, the coachmen would gently drive the others round my table. I have paſſed many an afternoon very agreeably in theſe converſations. But I defy the treaſurer, or his two informers, (I will name them, and let them make their beſt of it) Cluſtril and Drunlo, to prove that any perſon ever came to me *incognito*, except the ſecretary Reldreſal, who was ſent by expreſs command of his imperial Majeſty, as I have before related. I ſhould not have dwelt ſo long upon this particular, if it it had not been a point wherein the reputation of a great lady is ſo nearly concerned, to ſay nothing of my own, though I then had the honour to be a *Nardac*, which the treaſurer himſelf is not; for all the world knows, that he is only a *Glumglum*, a title inferior by one degree, as that of a Marquis is to a Duke in England; yet I allow he preceded me in right of his poſt. Theſe falſe informa-

tions, which I afterwards came to the knowledge of by an accident not proper to mention, made the treaſurer ſhew his lady for ſome time an ill countenance, and me a worſe; and although he was at laſt undeceived and reconciled to her, yet I loſt all credit with him, and found my intereſt decline very faſt with the Emperor himſelf, who was indeed too much governed by that favourite.

CHAP. VII.

The author, being informed of a deſign to accuſe him of high-treaſon, maketh his eſcape to Blefuſcu. His reception there.

BEFORE I proceed to give an account of my leaving this kingdom, it may be proper to inform the reader of a private intrigue, which had been for two months forming againſt me,

I had been hitherto all my life a ſtranger to courts, for which I was unqualified by the meanneſs of my condition. I had indeed heard and read enough of the diſpoſitions of great princes and miniſters; but never expected to have found ſuch terrible effects of them in ſo remote a country, governed, as I thought, by very different maxims from thoſe in Europe.

When I was juſt preparing to pay my attendance on the Emperor of Blefuſcu, a conſiderable perſon at court (to whom I had been very ſerviceable at a time, when he lay under the higheſt diſpleaſure of his imperial Majeſty) came to my houſe very privately at night in a cloſe chair, and, without ſending his name, deſired admittance: the chairmen were diſmiſſed: I put the chair, with his lordſhip in it, into my coat-pocket; and, giving orders to a truſty

truſty ſervant to ſay I was indiſpoſed and gone to ſleep, I faſtened the door of my houſe, placed the chair on the table, according to my uſual cuſtom, and ſat down by it. After the common ſalutations were over, obſerving his Lordſhip's countenance full of concern, and inquiring into the reaſon, he deſired I would hear him with patience in a matter, that highly concerned my honour and my life. His ſpeech was to the following effect, for I took notes of it as ſoon as he left me.

You are to know, ſaid he, that ſeveral committees of council have been lately called in the moſt private manner on your account; and it is but two days ſince his Majeſty came to a full reſolution.

You are very ſenſible, that Skyriſh Bolgolam (*galbet*, or high-admiral) hath been your mortal enemy almoſt ever ſince your arrival: his original reaſons I know not; but his hatred is increaſed ſince your great ſucceſs againſt Blefuſcu, by which his glory, as admiral, is much obſcured. This lord, in conjunction with Flimnap, the high-treaſurer, whoſe enmity againſt you is notorious on account of his lady. Limtoc the general, Lalcon the chamberlain, and Balmuff the grand juſticiary, have prepared articles of impeachment againſt you for treaſon, and other capital crimes.

This preface made me ſo impatient, being conſcious of my own merits and innocence, that I was going to interrupt; when he intreated me to be ſilent, and thus proceeded.

Out of gratitude for the favours you have done me, I procured information of the whole proceedings, and a copy of the articles; wherein I venture my head for your ſervice.

Articles of impeachment againſt Quinbus Fleſtrin, the man-mountain.

ARTICLE I.

Whereas, by a ſtatute made in the reign of his imperial Majeſty Calen Deffar Plune, it is enacted, that whoever ſhall make water within the precincts of the royal palace, ſhall be liable to the pains and penalties of high-treaſon: notwithſtanding the ſaid Quinbus Fleſtrin, in open breach of the ſaid law, under colour of extinguiſhing the fire kindled in the apartment of his Majeſty's moſt dear imperial conſort, did maliciouſly, traiterouſly, and deviliſhly, by diſcharge of his urine, put out the ſaid fire kindled in the ſaid appartment, lying and being within the precincts of the ſaid royal palace, againſt the ſtatute in that caſe provided, *&c.* againſt the duty, *&c.*

ARTICLE II.

That the ſaid Quinbus Fleſtrin having brought the imperial fleet of Blefuſcu into the royal port, and being afterwards commanded by his imperial Majeſty to ſeize all the other ſhips of the ſaid empire of Blefuſcu, and reduce that empire to a province to be governed by a viceroy from hence, and to deſtroy and put to death, not only all the Bigendian exiles, but likewiſe all the people of that empire, who would not immediately forſake the Bigendian hereſy; he, the ſaid Fleſtrin, like a falſe traitor againſt his moſt auſpicious, ſerene, imperial Majeſty, did petition to be excuſed from the ſaid ſervice, upon pretence of unwillingneſs to force the conſciences, or deſtroy the liberties and lives of an innocent people *.

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* A lawyer thinks himſelf honeſt if he does the beſt he can for his

ARTICLE III.

That, whereas certain ambaſſadors arrived from the court of Blefuſcu to ſue for peace in his Majeſty's court, he, the ſaid Fleſtrin, did, like a falſe traitor, aid, abet, comfort, and divert the ſaid ambaſſadors, although he knew them to be ſervants to a prince, who was lately an open enemy to his imperial Majeſty, and in open war againſt his ſaid Majeſty.

ARTICLE IV.

That the ſaid Quinbus Fleſtrin, contrary to the duty of a faithful ſubject, is now preparing to make a voyage to the court and empire of Blefuſcu, for which he hath received only verbal licence from his imperial Majeſty; and under colour of the ſaid licence, doth falſely and traiterouſly intend to take the ſaid voyage, and thereby to aid, comfort, and abet, the Emperor of Blefuſcu, ſo late an enemy, and in open war with his imperial Majeſty aforeſaid.

There are ſome other articles, but theſe are the moſt important, of which I have read you an abſtract.

In the ſeveral debates upon this impeachment it muſt be confeſſed, that his Majeſty gave many marks of his great lenity, often urging the ſervices you had done him, and endeavouring to extenuate your crimes. The treaſurer and admiral inſiſted, that you ſhould be put to the moſt painful and ignominious peath, by ſetting fire on your houſe at night, and the general was to attend with twenty thouſand

his client; and a ſtateſman, if he promotes the intereſt of his country: but the Dean here inculcates an higher notion of right and wrong, and obligations to a larger community.

men armed with poiſoned arrows, to ſhoot you on the face and hands. Some of your ſervants were to have private orders to ſtrew a poiſonous juice on your ſhirts and ſheets, which would ſoon make you tear your own fleſh, and die in the utmoſt torture. The general came into the ſame opinion; ſo that for a long time there was a majority againſt you: but his Majeſty reſolving, if poſſible, to ſpare your life, at laſt brought off the chamberlain.

Upon this incident, Reldreſal, principal ſecretary for private affairs, who always approved himſelf your true friend, was commanded by the Emperor to deliver his opinion, which he accordingly did; and therein juſtified the good thoughts you have of him. He allowed your crimes to be great, but that ſtill there was room for mercy, the moſt commendable virtue in a prince, and for which his Majeſty was ſo juſtly celebrated. He ſaid, the friendſhip between you and him was ſo well known to the world, that perhaps the moſt honourable board might think him partial; however, in obedience to the command he had received, he would freely offer his ſentiments. That if his Majeſty, in conſideration of your ſervices, and purſuant to his own merciful diſpoſition, would pleaſe to ſpare your life, and only give orders to put out both your eyes, he humbly conceived, that by this expedient juſtice might in ſome meaſure be ſatisfied, and all the world would applaud the lenity of the Emperor, as well as the fair and generous proceedings of thoſe who have the honour to be his counſellors. That the loſs of your eyes would be no impediment to your bodily ſtrength, by which you might ſtill be uſeful to his Majeſty: that blindneſs is an addition to courage, by concealing dangers from us; that the fear you had for your eyes was the greateſt difficulty you had in bringing over the enemies fleet; and it would be ſufficient for you to ſee by

by the eyes of the miniſters, ſince the greateſt princes do no more.

This propoſal was received with the utmoſt diſapprobation by the whole board. Bolgolam the admiral could not preſerve his temper; but riſing up in fury ſaid, he wondered how the ſecretary durſt preſume to give his opinion for preſerving the life of a traitor: that the ſervices you had performed were, by all true reaſons of ſtate, the great aggravation of your crimes; that you, who was able to extinguiſh the fire by diſcharge of urine in her Majeſty's apartment, (which he mentioned with horror), might, at another time, raiſe an inundation by the ſame means to drown the whole palace; and the ſame ſtrength which enabled you to bring over the enemies fleet, might ſerve, upon the firſt diſcontent, to carry it back: that he had good reaſons to think you were a Big-endian in your heart; and as treaſon begins in the heart, before it appears in overt-acts, ſo he accuſed you as a traitor on that account, and therefore inſiſted you ſhould be put to death.

The treaſurer was of the ſame opinion: he ſhewed to what ſtraits his Majeſty's revenue was reduced, by the charge of maintaining you, which would ſoon grow inſupportable: that the ſecretary's expedient of putting out your eyes was ſo far from being a remedy againſt this evil, that it would probably increaſe it, as is manifeſt from the common practice of blinding ſome kind of fowl, after which they fed the faſter, and grew ſooner fat: that his ſacred Majeſty and the council, who are your judges, were in their own conſciences fully convinced of your guilt, which was a ſufficient argument to condemn you to death, without the formal proofs required by the ſtrict letter of the law *.

But

* There is ſomething ſo odious in whatever is wrong, that even thoſe whom it does not ſubject to puniſhment, endeavour to colour it with

But his imperial Majeſty, fully determined againſt capital puniſhment, was graciouſly pleaſed to ſay, that ſince the council thought the loſs of your eyes too eaſy a cenſure, ſome other may be inflicted hereafter. And your friend, the ſecretary, humbly deſiring to be heard again, in anſwer to what the treaſurer had objected concerning the great charge his Majeſty was at in maintaining you, ſaid, that his Excellency, who had the ſole diſpoſal of the Emperor's revenue, might eaſily provide againſt that evil, by gradually leſſening your eſtabliſhment; by which, for want of ſufficient food, you would grow weak and faint, and loſe your appetite, and conſume in a few months; neither would the ſtench of your carcaſe be then ſo dangerous, when it ſhould become more than half diminiſhed; and immediately upon your death, five or ſix thouſand of his Majeſty's ſubjects might in two or three days cut your fleſh from your bones, take it away by cart-loads, and bury it in diſtant parts to prevent infection, leaving the ſkeleton as a monument of admiration to poſterity.

Thus, by the great friendſhip of the ſecretary, the whole affair was compromiſed. It was ſtrictly enjoined, that the project of ſtarving you by degrees ſhould be kept a ſecret, but the ſentence of putting out your eyes was entered on the books; none diſſenting except Bolgolam the admiral, who, being a creature of the Empreſs, was perpetually inſtigated by her Majeſty to inſiſt upon your death, ſhe having borne perpetual malice againſt you on account of that infamous and illegal method you took to extinguiſh the fire in her apartment.

with an appearance of right; but the attempt is always unſucceſsful, and only betrays a conſciouſneſs of deformity, by ſhewing a deſire to hide it. Thus the Lilliputian court pretended a right to diſpenſe with the ſtrict letter of the law to put Gulliver to death, though by the ſtrict letter of the law only he could be convicted of a crime; the intention of the ſtatute not being to ſuffer the palace rather to be burnt, than piſſed upon.

In

In three days, your friend the ſecretary will be directed to come to your houſe, and read before you the articles of impeachment; and then to ſignify the great lenity and favour of his Majeſty and council, whereby you are only condemned to the loſs of your eyes, which his Majeſty doth not queſtion you will gratefully and humbly ſubmit to; and twenty of his Majeſty's ſurgeons will attend, in order to ſee the operation well performed, by diſcharging very ſharp-pointed arrows into the balls of your eyes, as you lie on the ground.

I leave to your prudence what meaſures you will take; and, to avoid ſuſpicion, I muſt immediately return, in as private a manner as I came.

His Lordſhip did ſo, and I remained alone under many doubts and perplexities of mind.

It was a cuſtom, introduced by this prince and his miniſtry, (very different, as I have been aſſured, from the practices of former times), that after the court had decreed any cruel execution, either to gratify the monarch's reſentment, or the malice of a favourite, the Emperor always made a ſpeech to his whole council, expreſſing his great lenity and tenderneſs, as qualities known and confeſſed by all the world. This ſpeech was immediately publiſhed through the kingdom; nor did any thing terrify the people ſo much as thoſe encomiums on his Majeſty's mercy; becauſe it was obſerved, that, the more theſe praiſes were enlarged and inſiſted on, the more inhuman was the puniſhment, and the ſufferer more innocent. Yet, as to myſelf, I muſt confeſs, having never been deſigned for a courtier, either by my birth or education, I was ſo ill a judge of things, that I could not diſcover the lenity and favour of this ſentence, but conceived it (perhaps erroneouſly) rather to be rigorous than gentle. I ſometimes thought of ſtanding my trial; for although I could not deny the facts alledged in the ſeveral articles, yet I hoped they would admit

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of some extenuation. But having in my life perused many state-trials, which I ever observed to terminate as the judges thought fit to direct, I durst not rely on so dangerous a decision, in so critical a juncture, and against such powerful enemies. Once I was strongly bent upon resistance, for, while I had liberty, the whole strength of that empire could hardly subdue me, and I might easily with stones pelt the metropolis to pieces; but I soon rejected that project with horror, by remembering the oath I had made to the Emperor, the favours I received from him, and the high title of Nardac he conferred upon me. Neither had I so soon learned the gratitude of courtiers, to persuade myself, that his Majesty's present severities acquitted me of all past obligations.

At last I fixed upon a resolution, for which it is probable I may incur some censure, and not unjustly: for, I confess, I owe the preserving mine eyes, and consequently my liberty, to my own great rashness, and want of experience; because, if I had then known the nature of princes and ministers, which I have since observed in many other courts, and their methods of treating criminals, less obnoxious than myself, I should with great alacrity and readiness have submitted to so easy a punishment. But, hurried on by the precipitancy of youth, and having his Imperial Majesty's licence to pay my attendance upon the Emperor of Blefuscu, I took this opportunity, before the three days were elapsed, to send a letter to my friend the secretary, signifying my resolution of setting out that morning for Blefuscu, pursuant to the leave I had got; and, without waiting for an answer, I went to that side of the island where our fleet lay. I seized a large man of war, tied a cable to the prow, and, lifting up the anchors, I stript myself, put my cloaths (together with my coverlet, which I carried under my arm) into the vessel, and drawing

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it after me, between wading and swimming arrived at the royal port of Blefuscu, where the people had long expected me; they lent me two guides to direct me to the capital city, which is of the same name. I held them in my hands, till I came within two hundred yards of the gate, and desired them to signify my arrival to one of the secretaries, and let him know I there waited his Majesty's command. I had an answer in about an hour, that his Majesty, attended by the royal family and great officers of the court, was coming out to receive me. I advanced a hundred yards. The Emperor and his train alighted from their horses, the Empress and ladies from their coaches, and I did not perceive they were in any fright or concern. I lay on the ground to kiss his Majesty's and the Empress's hand. I told his Majesty that I was come, according to my promise, and with the licence of the Emperor my master, to have the honour of seeing so mighty a monarch, and to offer him any service in my power, consistant with my duty to my own prince; not mentioning a word of my disgrace, because I had hitherto no regular information of it, and might suppose myself wholly ignorant of any such design; neither could I reasonably conceive, that the Emperor would discover the secret, while I was out of his power; wherein however it soon appeared I was deceived.

I shall not trouble the reader with the particular account of my reception at this court, which was suitable to the generosity of so great a prince; nor of the difficulties I was in for want of a house and bed, being forced to lie on the ground, wrapt up in my coverlet.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The author, by a lucky accident, finds means to leave Blefuſcu; and, after ſome difficulties, returns ſafe to his native country.

THREE days after my arrival, walking out of curioſity to the north-eaſt coaſt of the iſland, I obſerved about half a league off, in the ſea, ſomewhat that looked like a boat overturned. I pulled off my ſhoes and ſtockings, and, wading two or three hundred yards, I found the object to approach nearer by force of the tide; and then plainly ſaw it to be a real boat, which I ſuppoſed might, by ſome tempeſt, have been driven from a ſhip: whereupon I returned immediately towards the city, and deſired his Imperial Majeſty to lend me twenty of the talleſt veſſels he had left, after the loſs of his fleet, and three thouſand ſeamen, under the command of his vice-admiral. This fleet ſailed round, while I went back the ſhorteſt way to the coaſt, where I firſt diſcovered the boat; I found the tide had driven it ſtill nearer. The ſeamen were all provided with cordage, which I had beforehand twiſted to a ſufficient ſtrength. When the ſhips came up, I ſtript myſelf, and waded till I came within an hundred yards of the boat, after which I was forced to ſwim till I got up to it. The ſeamen threw me the end of the cord, which I faſtened to a hole in the fore-part of the boat, and the other end to a man of war: but I found all my labour to little purpoſe; for, being out of my depth, I was not able to work. In this neceſſity, I was forced to ſwim behind, and puſh the boat forwards as often as I could, with one of my hands; and, the tide

tide favouring me, I advanced so far, that I could just hold up my chin and feel the ground. I rested two or three minues, and then gave the boat another shove, and so on, till the sea was no higher than my arm-pits; and now, the most laborious part being over, I took out my other cables, which were stowed in one of the ships, and fastened them first to the boat, and then to nine of the vessels which attended me; the wind being favourable, the seamen towed, and I shoved, till we arrived within forty yards of the shore, and, waiting till the tide was out, I got dry to the boat, and, by the assistance of two thousand men, with ropes and engines, I made a shift to turn it on its bottom, and found it was but little damaged.

I shall not trouble the reader with the difficulties I was under by the help of certain paddles, which cost me ten days making, to get my boat to the royal port of Blefuscu, where a mighty concourse of people appeared upon my arrival, full of wonder at the sight of so prodigious a vessel. I told the Emperor, that my good fortune had thrown this boat in my way, to carry me to some place, from whence I might return into my native country, and begged his Majesty's orders for getting materials to fit it up, together with his licence to depart, which, after some kind expostulations, he was pleased to grant.

I did very much wonder, in all this time, not to have heard of any express relating to me from our Emperor to the court of Blefuscu. But I was afterwards given privately to understand, that his Imperial Majesty, never imagining I had the least notice of his designs, believed I was only gone to Blefuscu in performance of my promise, according to the licence he had given me, which was well known at our court, and would return in a few days, when the ceremony was ended. But he was at last in pain at my long absence; and after con-

ſulting with the treaſurer and the reſt of that cabal, a perſon of quality was diſpatched with a copy of the articles againſt me. This envoy had inſtructions to repreſent to the monarch of Blefuſcu, the great lenity of his maſter, who was content to puniſh me no farther than with the loſs of mine eyes; that I had fled from juſtice, and, if I did not return in two hours, I ſhould be deprived of my title of *Nardac*, and declared a traitor. The envoy further added, that, in order to maintain the peace and amity between both empires, his maſter expected, that his brother of Blefuſcu would give orders to have me ſent back to Lilliput, bound hand and foot, to be puniſhed as a traitor.

The Emperor of Blefuſcu, having taken three days to conſult, returned an anſwer, conſiſting of many civilities and excuſes. He ſaid, that, as for ſending me bound, his brother knew it was impoſſible; that although I had deprived him of his fleet, yet he owed great obligations to me for many good offices I had done him in making the peace. That however both their Majeſties would ſoon be made eaſy: for I had found a prodigious veſſel on the ſhore, able to carry me on the ſea, which he had given orders to fit up with my own aſſiſtance and direction; and he hoped in a few weeks both empires would be freed from ſo inſupportable an incumbrance.

With this anſwer the envoy returned to Lilliput, and the monarch of Blefuſcu related to me all that paſſed: offering me at the ſame time (but under the ſtricteſt confidence) his gracious protection, if I would continue in his ſervice; wherein, although I believed him ſincere, yet I reſolved never more to put any confidence in princes or miniſters, where I could poſſibly avoid it; and therefore, with all due acknowlegments for his favourable intentions, I humbly begged to be excuſed. I told him, that ſince fortune, whether good or evil, had

thrown

thrown a veſſel in my way, I was reſolved to venture myſelf in the ocean, rather than be an occaſion of difference between two ſuch mighty monarchs. Neither did I find the Emperor at all diſpleaſed; and I diſcovered by a certain accident, that he was very glad of my reſolution, and ſo were moſt of his miniſters.

Theſe conſiderations moved me to haſten my departure ſomewhat ſooner than I intended; to which the court, impatient to have me gone, very readily contributed. Five hundred workmen were employed to make two ſails to my boat, according to my directions, by quilting thirteen fold of their ſtrongeſt linen together. I was at the pains of making ropes and cables by twiſting ten, twenty, or thirty of the thickeſt and ſtrongeſt of theirs. A great ſtone that I happened to find, after a long ſearch, ſerved me for an anchor. I had the tallow of three hundred cows for greaſing my boat, and other uſes. I was at incredible pains in cutting down ſome of the largeſt timber-trees for oars and maſts, wherein I was however much aſſiſted by his Majeſty's ſhip-carpenters, who helped me in ſmoothing them after I had done the rough work.

In about a month, when all was prepared, I ſent to receive his Majeſty's commands, and to take my leave. The Emperor and royal family came out of the palace; I lay down on my face to kiſs his hand, which he very graciouſly gave me; ſo did the Empreſs, and young princes of the blood. His Majeſty preſented me with 50 purſes of two hundred *ſprugs* a-piece, together with his picture at full length, which I put immediately into one of my gloves to keep it from being hurt. The ceremonies at my departure were too many to trouble the reader with at this time.

I ſtored the boat with the carcaſes of an hundred oxen, and three hundred ſheep, with bread and drink proportionable, and as much meat ready

dreſſed, as four hundred cooks could provide. I took with me ſix cows and two bulls alive, with as many ews and rams, intending to carry them into my own country, and propagate the breed. And to feed them on board, I had a good bundle of hay, and a bag of corn. I would gladly have taken a dozen of the natives, but this was a thing the Emperor would by no means permit; and, beſides a diligent ſearch into my pockets, his Majeſty engaged my honour not to carry away any of his ſubjects, although with their own conſent and deſire.

Having thus prepared all things as well as I was able, I ſet ſail on the 24th day of September 1701, at ſix in the morning; and when I had gone about four leagues to the northward, the wind being at ſouth-eaſt, at ſix in the evening I deſcried a ſmall iſland about half a mile to the north-weſt. I advanced forward, and caſt anchor on the lee-ſide of the iſland, which ſeemed to be uninhabited. I then took ſome refreſhment, and went to my reſt. I ſlept well, and as I conjecture, at leaſt ſix hours, for I found the day broke in two hours after I awaked. It was a clear night. I eat my breakfaſt before the ſun was up; and heaving anchor, the wind being favourable, I ſteered the ſame courſe that I had done the day before, wherein I was directed by my pocket-compaſs. My intention was to reach, if poſſible, one of thoſe iſland which I had reaſon to believe lay to the north-eaſt of Van Diemen's land. I diſcovered nothing all that day; but upon the next, about three in the afternoon, when I had, by my computation, made twenty-four leagues from Blefuſcu, I deſcried a ſail ſteering to the ſouth-eaſt; my courſe was due eaſt. I hailed her, but could get no anſwer; yet I found I gained upon her, for the wind ſlacked. I made all the ſail I could, and in half an hour ſhe ſpied me, then hung out her antient, and diſcharged a gun. It is

not

not eaſy to expreſs the joy I was in upon the unexpected hope of once more ſeeing my beloved country, and the dear pledges I left in it. The ſhip ſlackened her ſails, and I came up with her between five and ſix in the evening, Septembr 26; but my heart leapt within me to ſee her Engliſh colours. I put my cows and ſheep into my coat pockets, and got on board with all my little cargo of proviſions. The veſſel was an Engliſh merchant-man returning from Japan, by the North and South-ſeas; the captain Mr. John Biddel of Deptford, a very civil man, and an excellent ſailor. We were now in the latitude of 30 degrees ſouth, there were about fifty men in the ſhip; and here I met an old comrade of mine, one Peter Williams, who gave me a good character to the captain. This gentleman treated me with kindneſs, and deſired I would let him know what place I came from laſt, and whither I was bound; which I did in few words, but he thought I was raving, and that the dangers I had underwent had diſturbed my head; whereupon I took my black cattle and ſheep out of my pocket, which, after great aſtoniſhment, clearly convinced him of my veracity. I then ſhewed him the gold given me by the Emperor of Blefuſcu, together with his Majeſty's picture at full length, and ſome other rarities of that country. I gave him two purſes of two hundred *ſprugs* each, and promiſed, when we arrived in England, to make him a preſent of a cow and a ſheep big with young.

I ſhall not trouble the reader with a particular account of this voyage, which was very proſperous for the moſt part. We arrived in the Downs on the 13th of April 1702. I had only one misfortune, that the rats on board carried away one of my ſheep; I found her bones in a hole, picked clean from the fleſh. The reſt of my cattle I got ſafe aſhore, and ſet them a grazing in a bowling-green at Greenwich, where the fineneſs of the graſs made

made them feed very heartily, though I had always feared the contrary: neither could I poſſibly have preſerved them in ſo long a voyage, if the captain had not allowed me ſome of his beſt biſcuit, which, rubbed to powder, and mingled with water, was their conſtant food. The ſhort time I continued in England, I made a conſiderable profit by ſhewing my cattle to many perſons of quality, and others; and before I began my ſecond voyage, I ſold them for ſix hundred pounds. Since my laſt return I find the breed is conſiderably increaſed, eſpecially the ſheep, which I hope will prove much to the advantage of the woollen manufacture, by the fineneſs of the fleeces.

I ſtayed but two months with my wife and family: for my inſatiable deſire of ſeeing foreign countries would ſuffer me to continue no longer. I left fifteen hundred pounds with my wife, and fixed her in a good houſe at Redriff. My remaining ſtock I carried with me, part in money and part in goods, in hopes to improve my fortune. My eldeſt uncle John had left me an eſtate in land, near Epping, of about thirty pounds a-year: and I had a long leaſe of the Black-bull in Fetter-lane, which yielded me as much more: ſo that I was not in any danger of leaving my family upon the pariſh. My ſon Johnny, named ſo after his uncle, was at the grammar-ſchool, and a towardly child. My daughter Betty, (who is now well married, and has children) was then at her needle-work. I took leave of my wife and boy and girl, with tears on both ſides, and went on board the Adventure, a merchant-ſhip of 300 tons, bound for Surat, Captain John Nicholas of Liverpool commander. But my account of this voyage muſt be referred to the ſecond part of my travels.

END of VOL. IV.

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